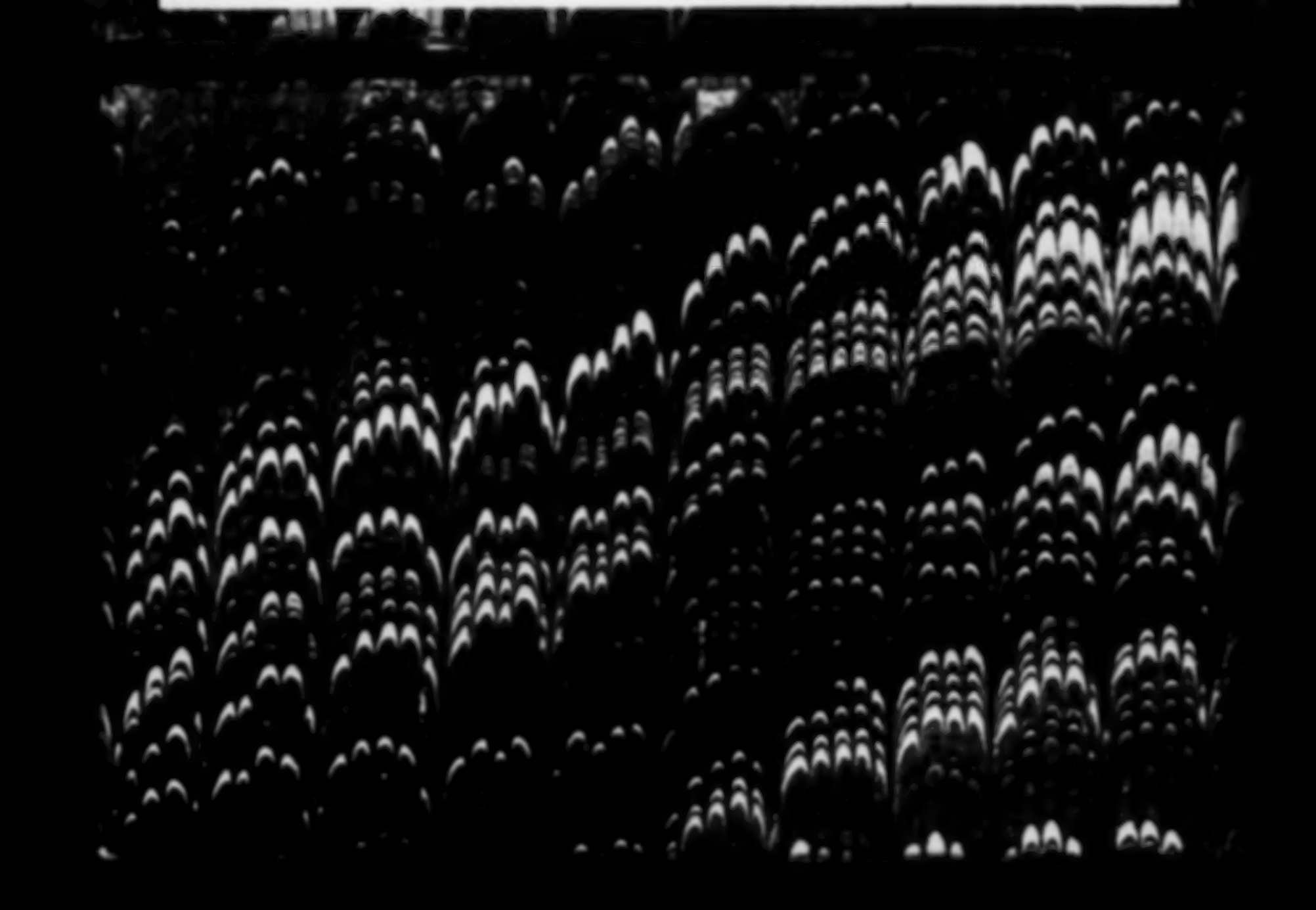
Harvard College Library

Harvard College Library



THE GOLDEN BOKE OF MARCVS AVRELIUS Emperour and eloquent oratour.

Londini.

AN. M. D. LIII.

1534

Of the byrth and linage of Marke Aurely Anthony emperour. Cap. primo.
What maisters Marc Aurelye hadde in his youth. Cap. ii.
¶ What sciences Marcus themperour learned, and of a meruailous letter that he sente to Polion. Cap. iii.
¶ Dow for ẏ wisdom of Marcus many wise men florished in his tyme. Cap. iiii.
¶ Of the emperour Marcus sonne named Verissimus. Cap. v.
¶ What wise and auncient men Marcus chose to instruct his sonne. Cap. vi.
¶ Dowe it channced to fiue wise men, wherfore thei were put out of the emperours house. Cap. vii.
¶ Dowe the emperour reasoned with the maisters that shoulde learne his sonne. Cap. viii.
¶ Dowe the maisters of princes ought to kepe them from vices. Cap. ix.
¶ Dowe the emperour Marcus nourished the princesses his doughters. ca. x.
¶ Dow Marcus themperour dyd chose and proued his sons in law. Ca. xi.

What

¶ What the emperour Marcus saied to the father of a yonge man, that wold mary one of his doughters. Cap.xii.
¶ Howe a sonne in lawe ought to bee well examined, er he be accepted to his purpose. Ca.xiii.
¶ How Marc the emperour favoured all noble exercises, and hated trewandes and fooles. Cap.xiiii.
¶ Of the good conuersacion of this emperour Marcus Aurelius. Cap xv.
¶ Of the feast that the Romains kept to the god Jano in Rome, and what chaunced to the sayd Emperour there Cap.xvi.
¶ How Marcus the emperour aunswered a senatour in the Senate. Cap. xvii.
¶ Howe the emperour Marcus deuided the howres of the daie for the busynes of the empire. Cap.xviii.
¶ The answere of Marke the emperour whan Faustine his wife demaunded the key of his study. Cap.xix.
¶ The emperour reherseth the perils of them that haunt women excessively. Cap.xx.
¶ Themperours aunswere to Faustine for that she said, she was w child. ca. xxi.
¶ Howe tidynges was brought to the

emperour, that the Mauritains wold conquerour great Brytaine. Cap. xxii.
¶ What themperour saied to the of his court in eschewyng idelnes. Ca. xxiii.
¶ Of the perilious liuyng of them that haunt the court cõtinually. Ca. xxiiii.
¶ How the emperour wold haue them of his court to liue. Cap. xxv.
¶ Of a meruayllous & fearefull monster that was seue in Sicile, and of his writynges. Cap. xxvi.
¶ What befell to a cytesin of Rome in the tyme of this emperour Marcus. Cap xxvii.
¶ Of a great pestilence that was in Italy in this emperours time. Ca. xxviii.
¶ Howe Marcus answered his phisicions that wouldbe haue him leaue his study. Cap. xxix.
¶ Howe science ought to bee in princes. Cap. xxx.
¶ What a villayne saied to the Senatours of Rome in the presence of the emperour. Cap xxxi.
¶ Of diuerse other thinges that ỹ villain saied before the senate. cap. xxxii.
¶ Howe themperour desyred the welth of his people, and the people his wealthe. Cap. xxxiii.

How

How the emperour gaue Lucilla his doughter licence to sport hir at his palays. Cap.xxxiiii.
What Marcus themperor said to a senator, as touching tribunes. ca.xxxv.
Of the great reproche that the emperour gaue to his wyfe Faustine and her doughter. Cap.xxxvi.
How the emperor counsailed Faustine to eschew yll occasions of hir doughter. Cap.xxxvii.
What thought Marcus the emperour tooke for the mariage of his doughters. Cap.xxxviii.
Of a sickness wherof themperor died, of his age, and where he died. Ca.xxxix.
The woordes of Panutius, secretary to the Emperour, at the houre of his death. Cap.xl.
How the emperour demanded to haue in writyng al that the Secretary had saied. Cap.xli.
The aunswere of the emperour to Panutius. Cap.xlii.
What the emperour saied to the maysters of his sonne, and to the rulers of the empyre. Cap.xliii.
How the emperour at the houre of his death, sent for his sonne, and declared

red to him, who shoulde gouerne the empire. Cap. xliiii.
What themperour saied to his sonne at the howre of his death. Cap xlv.
Of other more particular counsels giuen by themperor to his son Cap.xlvi.
Of dyuers and particular recommendactions, which the emperour cõmanded his sonne. Cap.xlvii.
Of the last woordes that the emperour spake to his sonne, and of the table that he gaue him. Cap. xlviii.
A letter sent by Marcus Aurelius to his ramb his special frẽd. The first letter.
A letter sent by Marcus the emperour to Cornelius, of the trauaile of warre and vanitie of triumph. The.ii. letter
To Torcatus beyng at Gaiette in cõsolacion of his banishmẽt. The.iii. letter.
A letter to Domitius of Capue to comfort him i his banishmẽt. the.iiii. letttter.
A letter sent fro the emperour to Claudius and Claudine his wyfe, because they beyng olde, lyued as ponge persones. The.v.letter.
A letter sent from Marcus the emperor to Labinia a Romain wydow for to comfort hir for the death of hyr husbande. The. vi. letter.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to Cincinatus his frende, bycause he be ynge a gentilman, became a marchant The. vii. letter.

A letter sent from Marke themperour to Catulus Censorius, that was sorowfull for the deathe of his sonne Verissimus. The viii. letter.

A letter sent by Marke themperour to Marcurino, being at Senny, now called Benaucnt. The. ix. letter.

A letter sent by Marke themperour, to Antigonus, comfortyng hym in a sorowfull case. The. x. letter.

An other letter sent by Marke the Emperour to the same Antigonus against cruell iudges. The. xi. letter.

A letter sent by Marke to Lambert gouernor of the Ile of Helespont, whan he dyd banishe the vacabundes from Rome. The. xii. letter.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to Catulus his speciall frend, of the noueltees of Rome. The. xiii. letter.

A letter sent by Mark thẽperour to the amorous ladies of Rome, bicause thei made a plaie of him. The. xiiii. letter.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to Boemia a louer of his, that wouide haue

haue gone with him to the warres.
The xv letter.
The aunswere to the emperours letter sent by Boemia. The.xvi.letter.
A letter sent by Marke themperour to Matrine a younge mayden of Rome, of whom he was enamoured, seeyng hir at a window. The.xvii.letter.
An other letter sent by Marke the emperour to the saied gentyll womanne Matrine. The.xviii.letter.
A letter sent by Marke themperour to Libia a faire lady Romaine.
The.xix. letter.

FINIS TABVLAE.

THE PROLOGVE.

AS the tyme is an inuenter of nouelties, and a regester certayne of thynges aunciente, and at the ende, tyme gyuethe ende to that suffereth ende: The trewth all onely amonge all thynges is priuileged, in suche wise, that whan the tyme seemeth to haue broken hir wynges, than as immortall she taketh hir force. There is nothing so entier, but it diminisheth, nor nothing so hole, but that is wery: nor nothing so strong, but that it breaketh: nor nothing so well kept, but that it corrupteth. So all these thinges tyme acheueth and burieth, but onely trouth, the whiche (of the tyme, and of all thyng that is in the time) triumpheth. Neither to be fauoured of the good, nor to be persecuted of the yll, maie bee, but that sometime trouth maie be stopped and hidde, but whan it is displeased and will displease, than at the laste shee cometh to a good porte, and taketh lande. The fruites in the springyng time haue not the vertue to giue susteuaunce nor perfitte swetenesse to satis-

ſie the taſte of them that eateth therof: but than paſſeth the ſeaſon of ſommer, and harueſt cometh, whiche time doth better typpe theim, and than that that we doe eate, doth profite vs, the profe therof is right ſauerimelle, and gyueth the more force and vertue, and the greatter is the taſte. I will in theſe firſte wordes ſaie, that in the firſte ages men were more eſtemed by their meke cuſtomes and delicatenes, than thei were after reproued by their groſſe and rude vnderſtandynges. Certainely ſome of the aunciente philoſophiers, I ſpeake of the moſte aunciente, as well Caldees as Grecques, who firſte lyfted theim ſelfes to regarde the ſterres of the heauen, and ſurmounted the highe mounte of Olympius, there to contemplate and regarde the influences of the planettes in the heuen: I dare well ſaie, that they haue rather merited pardon by their ignoraunces, than praiſyng or grace by their wiſedome. Theſe were the firſte that wolde ſerche the trouthe of the elementes of the heuen, and yet they were the firſte that did ſowe errours in thynges naturall of the earthe. Homere in his Iliade ſaithe

saide these wordes in speakyng of philosophers: I praise nothyng the knowlage of mine ancesters, but I can them greatte thanke and praise, in that thei desyred knowlage. This was well saide of Homer. For if among the auncient men had not reigned suche ignoraunce, there had not been so many sectes of parcialitees in euery schole. De that hath redde the aunciente antiquities of the philosophers, shall not deny me the presumpcion of the knowlage, and ignoraunce of that thei desyred to knowe, the whiche is chiefe cause that science is not all one. There is great nombre of parcialitees, Cinitiens, Catoniens, Peripaticiens, Academiens, and Epicuriens, who were as contrary in their opinions, as diuers in their naturalities. I will not that my penne bee so dismeasured to reproue so muche the aunciente men, that the glorie all onely shoulde abyde with them that be present. Truely if he merite guardon and praise, that sheweth me the waie, whereby I thinke to passe, yet no lesse meriteth he, that sheweth and aduiseth me of the waie, whereby I maie fayle. The ignoraunce of the auncient

men hath ben but as a guyde to aduyse and aduertise all other, and bycause they erred, wee haue founde sith the waie, to their greatte preise, and to our great shame. I saie, that if wee that be nowe presente had beene than, we had knowen lesse than thei didde. And if thei that were than were nowe at this houre, thei should surmount vs in knowlage. And that this is trewe it appereth well. For the auncient sages, with their diligence to know the trouth by their close & ferme made the waies: But we by our slouth folowe not the open waies. Than to the purpose that I will saie, we that be now present, can not complaine of theim that haue bene, but that the trouth (the whiche according to Aul. gel. is doughter of ẏ time) in this time of the worlde declareth to vs the errours, that we ought to fle, and the trouth of the doctrine that we ought to folowe. But as nowe the humaine malice is so expert, and the vnderstandyng of mortall men is so dull, that in time of neede, in goodnesse of wit we faile, & in all ill we knowe more than we ought to knowe. In suche wise that some with one parte of the more,
and

and some with lesse, all presume to wyn the game. And though this be true, yet it is but a small thing to that we abide for: There is so muche that we ought to knowe. For the most that we knowe is the leaste parte of that we be ignorant of, as the thinges natural, according to the variety of the time, like maner doth the operacions of the elementes. In semblable wise in thinges mortall, as the ages hath succeded, so are discouered the sciences. For certaine all the fruites cometh not together, whan one faileth, an other beginneth to enter in season. I will saie, that neither all doctours among christen men, nor all the philosophers amonge the gentiles were consentant in one tyme, but after the death of one good, an other came better. The high and supreme wisedome, the whiche all meane thynges gouernethe by Justice, and departeth it accordynge to his bountee, will not that at one time the worlde shulde want or bee destitute of sage men, nor at an other time want of symple personnes: some destroynge the fruite, and some the leaues. In suche sorte that thei shoulde haue enuye of that other were impeached.

This aunciente worlde that ranne in Saturnus daies, the whiche otherwise was called the Golden worlde, the whiche was so estemed of theim that sawe it, and so muche praised of theim that herde the writyng thereof, and so muche desired of theim that felte no parte thereof, was not golde by the sages that did gilte it, but bycause that there was none yll that did vngilte it. This our age nowe is of yron: yet it is not called of yron, for faute of sages, but bycause the maliciouse people surmounte. I confesse one thyng, and I thynke I shall haue many wylle fauoure me in the same, that there was neuer in the worlde so muche people teachyng vertue, and so fewe folowyng the same. Aul. Gele saieth in his booke, that the auncient sages were holden in reputacion, bycause there were fewe teachers and many lerners: and at this houre it is contrary, there bee but fewe learners, and many teachers. The small esteeme that the sages bee in at this time, maie bee seene by greatte veneracion that the philosophers were holden in as than, the whiche thyng was trewe: Homer among the Grekes,

Salo-

Salomon amonge the Hebrewes, Lycurge among the Lacedemonians, Liuie amonge the Romaynes, Cicero amonge the Latines, Apolonius Thianeus amonge all the barbarike nacions. I desire to haue bene in all these ages, whan the worlde was so riche of sage personnes, and so poore of symple persons, whan they assembled out of ferre countrees, and of dyuers realmes and straunge nacions: not allonely to haue herde their doctrines, but also to haue seue their persons. I thinke I am not begyled in the histories. For whan Rome in his moste prosperitee was highest in triumphe, Titus Liuius dothe write in his histories, and the glorious saincte Hierome affirmeth it in the prologue of the bible, that mo people came to Rome to see the eloquences of the bokes, more than to loye any Romaine triumphe. Whan Olimpias was deliuered of hir childe the greatte Alexander, Philip hir husbande, and father to the ponge childe, wrote a letter to Artistotle, wherin he saide: I geue great graces to the goddis, not allonely that they haue gyuen vnto me a sonne, but because thei haue giuen him

to me in the tyme that thou mayste bee his maister, and be thy discipie. Marc Aurelie the emperour, of whom this present boke entreateth, be speakynge of him selfe wrote to Polion these wordes: Frende I will thou knowe, that I am not made emperour by reason of the bloud of my predecessours, nor yet for the fauour of my lynage nowe presente, but it was bycause I haue bene alwaies a freende and louer of the sage people, and enemy to them that haue no good knowlage. Right happie was Rome to chose so valiant an emperour, and right fortunat was that emperour to come to suche an empire, not by patrimonie, but by sagence. And if that age was gloriouse in ioiyng of his persone, no lesse it is to vs to ioye of his doctrines. I will intitle this boke the Golden boke. It maie be called golden, bycause in so high estimacion it holdeth the vertuouse, discouerynge in theyr time this booke with the sentences, as these princes holdeth theyr mynes of golde in their Indees. But I saie that at this houre there bee moo hertes banished into the Indees of golde, thanne to emploie theym to rede the

wor-

wo:kes of this boke. Salluste saieth, that there ought great glo:ie be giuen to theim that haue done veraie high and great actes: And that there ought no lesse fame and renowme by giuen to those that in a good style haue writtен theym. In this case I confesse to deserue no merites for my traduction or any fame, but I demaunde pardon of all theim that be sage, for the fautes that thei shall finde therin. For except the diuine letters, there is nothyng so well writtен, but that there maie be founde necessitee of co:rection, line, and censure. This semed to be true, by that Socrates was rep:oued of Plato, and Plato of Aristotle, Aristotle of Abenruyz, Scilio of Sulpice, Leiy of Varro, Marinus of Tome, Enio of Horace, Senec of Aule Gele, Estratocles of Strabo, Telato of Galene, Darmagore of Cicero, Origen of sainct Jerom, sainct Jerom of Ruffyn, and Ruffyn of Donate: Sythe that in theim and in their wo:kes there hathe beene co:rection, who were meune of high knowlage, it is no reason that I shoulde bee in their fraternitee, seeyng that I knowe so little as I doe, to

the

the examinacion of wise and vertuous men. To theim I submit this presente warke, and to theim that haue beene suche, I them require to be contente to be the reders, and not iudges thereof. It were no pacience to suffre, nor lawe to permitte, that a thyng that a sage personne with greatte maturitee and deliberacion hath written, to bee dispraised by a simple personne. For ones readynge, oftentimes the auctoures and writers are dispraised, not of them that can traduce and compose workes: but of theim that can not understande theim, and yet lesse reade theim. I saie further of aduauntage, that diuers haue written of the tyme of the saide Marke Aureleo Emperour, as Herodian wrote lyttell, Eutropio lesse, Lampridio yet lesse, Julius Capitolin somewhat more. The writynges of theim, and of other seemeth rather epitomes, than histories. There is difference betweene this writyng, and that thei wrote by hering saie: but thei, by whom I haue composed this present worke, they were witnesse by sight, and not by hearyng of other, but thei wrote what thei sawe theim selfe:

That

That is to saie, amonge the maisters, who learned the saide emperour their sciences there were thre, that is to saie, Iunio Rustico, Cina Catule, and Herto Cheronense, ueuewe to the greatte Plutarhe. These bene thei that haue written this present history. Herto Cheronense in greke, and the other two in latine. I thynke of this historie is but small notice, bycause vnto this houre it hath not be seene imprinted. Whan I departed from the college of my study, and went to preache in the palais, where I sawe so many newe noueltees in the courtes, I delyuered my selfe with greatte desyre to knowe thynges, and gaue my selfe to searche and knowe thynges auncient. And the case fortuned on a daie, readyng an historie, I founde therein matter to be noted in a pistell, and it seemed to me so good, that I put all mine humaine forces to serche farther. And after in reuoluyng diuers bokes, serchyng in diuers libraries, and also speakyng with diuers sages of diuers realmes, finally I founde this treatise in Florence, among the bokes lefte there by Cosme de Medicis, a man of good memory. I haue vsed in

this

this writyng, the whiche is humaine, that that diuerse times hath bene vsed in drauhte, that is to reduce, not worde for worde, but sentence for sentence. The other interpretours are not bounde to giue for the meane the wordes, it sufficeth to giue for the weight the sentence: As the historiographers, of whom there were diuers, and the history that thei made was all but one thing, I will not deny, but I haue left out some wordes, whiche were not mete, nor well sittyng, rude, & least of valure, and I haue medled it with other more swete and profitable. I thynke that euery wise man after he hath read this boke, will not saie that I am the principall auctour of this worke, nor yet to iudge me so ignoraunt to exclude me cleane from it, for so high sentences are not founde at this present time, nor to so high a style thei of time past neuer atteined.

Here endeth the prologue.

Here

Here begynneth the booke of the life of the noble and eloquent Marke Aurely emperour.

Of the byrth and lynage of Marke Aurele Antony emperour. Cap primo.

In the yere of the fundacio of Rome vi. C. xcv. in the Olimpiade. C. lxiii. Anthony the mete, being deade, than consules Fuluie Caton, & Gnee Patrocle in the high capitoll, the. iiii. daie of October at the demaunde of all the people Romaine, and consent of the sacred Senate, was declared for emperour vniuersall of all the monarche of Rome, Marke Aurely Anthony. This excellent baron was naturally of Rome borne in the mount Celie. And according as Julius Capitoline saith, he was borne the. vi. kalendes of Maie, the whiche according to the accompte of the latyns, was the. xxvi. daie of the moneth of Aprill passed. His father was named Anio Uero, For

For the occasion whereof, the histories diuers tymes call hym Marke Anthony Tiero. True it is, that Adriane the emperour called hym Tiertissimus, by cause in hym was neuer founde no lies, nor neuer failed the trouth. These Annius Tiertes was a lignage, that auaunced theim to bee descended of Numa Pompilio, and of Quintus Curtius the famous Romayn: whiche for to deliuer the towne of Rome from perill, and to giue his persone perpetuall memorie, of his owne good free will he yelded hym selfe to the same voyage, that as than was seene in Rome. The mother of this Emperour was called Domiciade, as Tyne historien recounteth in the bookes of the lygnages of Rome. The Camilles were persones in that tyme greatly esteemed, bycause they were accompted to be descended of Camille the famouse and auncient capitayne Romayne, whiche deliuered Rome from the Gaulles, that hadde wonne it. The men that descended of that lygnage were called Camilli, for the remembraunce of Camille, and the women were likewise called Camilles, in the remembrance of a dough-

ter

ter of the saide Camille, that was cal-
led Camillia.

¶ There was an auncient lawe, that all Romaines shulde haue a particular priuilege in the same place, where their predecessours had done to the Romayn people any greatte seruice. For this auncientе custome they had priuilege, so that all they of the lygnage of Campile, were kepte and mainte-ned in the high capitoll. And though the varietee of the time, the multitude of tyrantes, the ebulicion and mouyng of ciuill warres were cause of the di-minishyng of the auncient Policie of Rome, and introduced in maner a lyfe not very good: yet for all that we rede not, that the preeminences of the Ro-maynes were broken, but if it were in the time of Sylla, whan he made the vniuersall proscription agaynste the Marians. After the deathe of this cruelle Sylla, in exaltyng of hym selfe, Julius Cæsar the pitiefull, made di-ctatour of Rome, and chiefe of the Ma-rians, adnulled and vndidde all that Sylla had made, and broughte agayne into the auncientе estate the common welthe.

What

¶ What hath beue the condicions, the estate, pouertee, richesse, fauour, or disfauour of the ancessours of this Marke Aurelye Emperoure, we fynde not in the auncient historyes, and yet it hath bene diligently serched for. The auncient Romain historiens were not accustomed to write the lyues of the Emperours fathers, namely whan they be made monarches, but the merites and graces that their children had, as for the auctoritee that thei had inheriting their fathers. Trouth it is, as saieth Julius Capitolin, the father of Marke Aurelye themperour, had bene pretour in exercises, and capitaine in the frontiers, in the time of Traian the good, and Adriane the wyse, and Anthony the mehe emperours. This is confirmed by that the same Marc Aurelye wrot (being at Rodes) to a frend of his called Polion, that was at Rome, saiyng thus: Many thinges haue I felt & knowen frende Polion, by the absence of Rome, namely of that I see my selfe here alone in this ile: but as vertue maketh a stranger naturall, and vice tourneth naturall to a straunger: and as I haue bene .x. yeres here at Rodes to

tede

rede philosophie, I thereby repute my selfe as naturall of this lande, and that hath caused me to forget the pleasures of Rome, and it hath lerned me the maners of the yle. And here I haue found many of my fathers frendes. Here was capitaine against the Barbariens, to my lorde Adrian, Anthonie my father in lawe, the space of. xv. yeres. I lette the to witte, that the Rodian people are curteis, and full of good graces. I wolde haue rede philosophie as longe as my father had beene at Rodes in warre, but I maie not: for Adrian my lorde commaunderh me to go and kepe residence at Rome, howe be it euery man reioyseth to see his naturall countrey.

¶ So by the wordes of this letter it is to be beleued, that Annis Vero, father to this emperour Marke, had applied the moste parte of his lyfe in warre. It was not the custome lyghtly to truste a persone, to haue the office of a gouernour on the frontiers, without he had beue well exercised in the feates of war. And as all the glorie of the Romaines was to leaue after theym good renowme, the saide Marke certainely was taken for the moste vertuouse, and

hadde greattest frendes in the Senate, whereby he trusted on the conquest of the moste cruell ennemies: accordynge as the saide Sexto Cheronense historien saieth. The Romaines all though they hadde in their handes moste perilous warres, yet they had in foure partes of the empire stronge and entier garrisons. That is to saie, in Bizance, the whiche is nowe Constantinople, by reason of them of the oriente: And Gades, the whiche nowe is called Cadiz a citte of Spayne, for love of them of the weste: In the ryuer of Rhodano, whiche is nowe the ryuer of Kyne, for the Germaines: And in Colloss, whiche nowe is called the Rhodes, Bycause of the Barbarians. In the kalendes of Januarie, whan the senate deuided the offices, beyng pourueyed of a dictatour, and of two consules yerely, Incontinente in the thirde place they prouided for foure moste excellent barons to defende the saide foure Frontiers: The which semeth to be true, for the most famouse and renowmed barons in their yong daies were capitaines in the saide frontiers: The great Pompeius was sent to the Byzantes Constantinople:

The

The worthy Scipio was sente to the Cartaginences and Rodians: And the courageous Julius Cæsar, was sente to the Gaditaynes of Cales of Spain: and the stronge esteemed Marcus was sent to them of the riuer of Ryne. This we saie bycause that Anio Nero father to Marc Aurelie emperour, had bene prouost and pretour in the offices, and one of the capitaynes of the Frontiers, whiche ought to be in Rome one of the personcs most esteemed.

¶ What maisters Marke Aurelye had in his youth. Cap. ii.

VVE HAVE not by any autentike historics, from whens, whan, or howe, in what maner, or in what exercises, or with what persons, or in what lande was spente and consumed the most part of the life of this good emperour. But to be short, Julius Capitoline saieth, that he had bene trait. yere vnder the commaundement of Adrian the emperour. Howe be it contrary wise is founde by other historiens, accordyng as saieth Herto Cheronense in his history. It was not the

cuſtome of the Romaines cronycleres, to write the thynges done by theſe princes before they were princes, but onely of yong people, being in theyr yong age, hauinge great and highe magnificence, and doyng great enterpriſes. This ſeemeth to bee of trouthe, for Sueton Tranquill recounteth largely the ſeaſefull deedes and enterpriſes doone by Caius Jul. Cæſar in his younge age, to ſhewe to princes to come, howe it was a great ambicion, that they had to atteyne to the monarchy, and but of ſmall witte and maturitee to kepe theim ſelfe therin. It is no newe thynge that men gape for high and fraile thynges. And the more higher the magnificence is, the more lower they fele fortune. And whan they were diligent to accompliſh their deſire, as much thought had they to conſerue their quietneſſe and reſt. In caſe than that Anio Nero, father to Marke the Emperour, folowed the exercise of warres, yet he put his ſonne in the waie to lerne ſcience. For there was a lawe fore vſed and accuſtomed, and well kepte in the Romayne policie, that euery citeſins ſonnes, that enioyed the libertee of Rome,

and

and had accomplished. x. yeres, shoulde not be suffered to goe by the stretes as vacabundes. Nor it shuld not be suffered by the Censure, who gouerned Rome, and dayly toke hede to the forfaytes done therin, to suffer a childe no lengar than. x. yeres of his age to plaie the childe. But fro thense forthe the father of the chylde shoulde be bounde to nourishe him out of the circuite of Rome, or to lay a pledge, that his sonne shoulde do no folies. Whan Rome triumphed, and by theyr policie gouerned all the worlde, it was certaynly a meruaylouse and monstrous thyng to see it than, and no lesse fearefull vnto vs nowe to here therof. There was at that tyme in Rome. iiii. hundred thousand inhabitauntes, amonge whom there was ii. hundred. M. yonge people, that were refrained and bridled from their yonge pleasures. The son of Cato was chastised, bicause he was wilfull and presũptuous. And also the brother of good Cyna was banyshed, bycause he wente ydelly as a vacabunde. Without that Cicero begyleth vs in his bookes of the Romaine lawes, no Romaine ought to straie abrode in ẏ stretes of Rome, but if

he bare in his hande the signe or token of the office, wherby he liued. To thentente that euery man shoulde knowe, that he lyued by his trauaile, and not by the sweate of other men. This lawe was kept of euery persomme. The emperour had borne before hym a brennyng brande: The consulle an arc of armes, the priestis haue in maner of a coyfe: the Senatours a tongue in maner of a crusible on their armes, the Censure a litteil table, the tribunes a mace, the centurions a signe for baner, the oratours a booke, the gladiatours a swerde, the taillours sheres, the smythes a hammer, and in like wise of all the other offices and crafres. We maie knowe than by this that is saide, that after that Marke Aurelye was borne at Rome, his father in his youth had taught hym good nurture. And though it so were, that the beginnyng of his yonge age shoulde be hid from vs: at the least we are certaine, that the myddel age and ende of him was right glorious. His father Anio Uero wold that his son Marcus Aurelius shoulde leaue feates of armes, and folow study. And surely it is to be thought, that it was

doue

done more by the valiantnes of the fa-
ther than the cowardneſſe of the ſonne,
except the dedes of them that be dead
begyle vs that be alyue, and the cauſe
iudged by clere vnderſtandyng, and
that we fynde mo ſentences of dyuers
ladde perſonnes, that there hath bene
but few that bene loſte by writinges
and learnynge, ye and a great meiny
fewer that haue had aduauntage by ar-
mes. Reuolue all bookes, and ſerche
through all realmes, and finally they
ſhew vs, that verey fewe in their real-
mes, haue bene happy in armes, but
there haue bene many famous and re-
nowned by ſcripture and lernyng. Take
here example, and ſe if it be true or not
that I ſaie. Had the Aſſiriens mo than
one kyng, that was Ninꝰ, one Ligurge
amonge the Lacedemonians, the Egyp-
tiens one Ptholome, the Hebrewes one
Machabee, the Grekes one Hercules,
the Macedoniens one Alexander, the
Epirotiens one Pyrhe, one Hanniball
the Carthaginens, and one Julius Ce-
ſar amonge the Romaines? It is not
thus of lerned men: for if the Greekes
had one Homer, no leſſe the Greekes
vaunteth theim of the. vii. ſages, whom

we beleue more in their philosophie, than Homer in the warres of Troy. For as difficile it is to fynde a trouth in Homere, as a ly in these sages. Semblably the Romaynes had not onely Cicero as righte eloquent, but also they had Salluste, Lucan, Titus Liuius, with a great company of noble men, and well approued, who haue left right great credence in their scriptures in the saiyng of trouth. What lost Cicero in the senate for vsyng of inuectiues? And as we saie of so small a nombre of Grekes and latynes, we may saie of the Assiriens, Persians, Medes, Argyues, Acayens, Beniens, Frenchemen, Britons, Englishmen, and Spaniardes, All the whiche nacions without comparyson haue of theym selfe left more memorye, and haue honoured their landes and countreyes more by writyng, than they that haue left sygnes by armes. Than let vs leaue these strange histories, and retourne to the pythe of our Emperour Marcus Aurelius, as Eutrope recounteth. Accordyng as this excellent baron lerned diuers sciences, so he had diuers maisters to teache him. He studied grammer with a maister

named Lapborion, muſik with an other named Gemino Comode, eloquence with Alexander a Greke, in naturall philoſophy he had to his mayſters Cosmode Calcedonien, an auncient baron, which expounded to hym Homer: and Sexte Cheronenſe neuew to the great Plutarke. Alſo he ſtudied in the lawes, and voluſio Mecians was his mayſter. This Emperour eſteemed to haue the knowlage of paynting, and to graue in wodde and mettall, in earthe, and other ſculptures, in whiche art his maiſter was Diogenito, in his time a famouſe and renowmed paynter. He trauayled alſo to knowe, and ſerche what extended to the acte of Aychiomancy. By occaſion wherof he went openly to here Apolonio. And to thentent that there ſhulde be nothyng vnlerned of hym, he aboue all ſciences ſette his minde to Coſmography, in the whiche for his maiſter, he toke Iunio Roſtico, that ſith wrote his lyfe, and Cina Catule, the which wrot of his death, and the life of Comode his ſonne. Of theſe noble and excellent barons, that flouryſhed in thoſe daies, he was taughte in vertues and ſciences. Cicero

lamenteth the ancient policie of Rome, because that he sawe great losse in the common welth than present, saiyng in his Rhetorik, that the auncient Romaines had alwaie regarde to that parte, where they thought moste damage and perill should grow. There were .v. thynges amonge all other in Rome, whereunto they hadde euer a vigilant respect, the whiche the senate neded not to care for, nor no law dispensed for theim: and these bene they, the priestes were honest, and the virgins Vestales right chaste: the penalties right iuste, the capitaines full valiante: The children were vertuouse. It was not permitted in Rome, that he that was a maister in sciences, shoulde be disciple of vices.

¶ What sciences Marcus the emperour lerned. And of a meruailous letter that he sent to Polion. Cap. iii.

Philostrate saieth, that it was demaunded of Polion, who was the rycheste man of the worlde: He answered, it was he that had moste

moſt wiſedome. He was demaunded agayne, who was moſt poore: He aunſwered, he that had leaſt witte. Of trouth it was a worthy ſentence of ſuch a perſone. The effect therof we ſe daily by experience, the wiſe ſtidyng in diuers chaunces of fortune, reuoleth hym ſelfe. The vnwitty perſonne in very ſmall thynges touchyng his ſtayng, not greatly decaied, falleth towne. There is nothyng that is ſo loſte, but that there is hope of recouerynge, if it be in the handes of a wiſe man. And contrary wiſe, there is nothyng ſo aſſured, but the recouerance therof ought to be feared, if a fole haue the guidyng therof. It was aſked of Xenophon the philoſopher, whether he habde rather to be foliſh and a great lorde, or to be wiſe and poore. He aunſwered and ſaied, I haue pitie of a riche foole, and I haue enuy of a wiſe man waren poore. For if a wiſe man haue but one foote, yet will he riſe and kepe hym ſelfe from fallyng: And if you giue an abbay to a foote, yf by fortune he falle, he will neuer reiſe agayne. Ye maie thynke that the father that dieth, and leaueth his ſonne poore and wyſe, that

that he leaueth to him muche: And he that leaueth his sonne ryche and folyshe, I thynke he hath lefte hym nothynge. These thynges considered, Anyo Vero, father of the emperour, as a father that loued his sonne hertelye, was not content, to delyuer one mayster to his sonne, to make him vertuouse, and to learne one science, wherewith he myght occupy his vnderstandynge, but he gaue him many maysters, that refrained him from vyces, and commaunded, that he shoulde learne many sciences, to thentent that he shoulde be the more bisily exercise. Whan and how muche he trauailed to learne, and what sciences, and with whom, and with what will he lerned, and what he knew, he wrote hym selfe beyng at Agrippine, now called Coleine, to a frend of his named Polion, as it foloweth.

¶ Frende Polion, thou maruailest, why that I leaue not to learne newe thynges at the ende of my daies. He that hath but one meate to eate, and can not eate therof, he leaueth it, and peraduenture it was holsome for hym, and eateth other thynges, that he seeth, whiche may be hurtefull to hym. It

is

is a great magnificence to a man, to haue diuers sortes of meates: for if he haue no luste to one, that is good for hym, he maie take of another, that is better. He that is wise, maie vnderstand me, without any more declarynge. As in all artes, a man is content at the laste: so at the laste, be they neuer so swete, thei turne to a werynesse. He that knoweth but one science, though he bee wise, yet he renneth in great daungier. For beyng annoied therwith, he will occupy his ifle in other hurtfull thynges. The noble and worthy personnes, that dyd caste slouth away fro theym, haue leite of theym eternall memory, not wyllynge to learne alonely one science, to attempre their vnderstandynge with, but also trauailed, to learne dyuers other, wherwith they sharped their wittes, to the entent that they shoulde not be dulled and made blonte. In all naturall thynges, nature is with right litte content, but the spirite and vnderstandynge is not satisfied with many thynges. And sith ꝑ vnderstandyng is of such condicio, that it is lost by liberty, and is lightly encombred, with subtilitee it perseth, with quicknes it knoweth, ꝑ with

ignorance

ignorance it wasteth: it is necessary, by time to remount to very high thynges, leste it bowe vnto low and ill thynges. All corporall domages, that chaunce to mortall men, are by medicines healed, or by reason remedied, or by length of time cured, or els by deth ended: The onely vnderstandyng, which is dusked in errours, and depraued in malices, can not be healed by medicines, nor redressed by reason, nor holpe by counsel. The auncient philosophiers, in the saide happy golden worlde, and golden age, did not all only lerne one thing, whereby thei might susteine their lyfe, and encrease good fame: But thei trauayled, to knowe all that was to bee knowen, and yet euer sought to know more.

¶ In the .lxxv. of the Olimpiade, as dyuers personnes were assembled in the high mountayne Olympius, to celebrate the plaies, by fortune thyther came a philosopher of Thebes, whiche had made all that euer he brought with him. He made his showes, his cote, and sowed his sherte, and had written his bokes, and so of all other thynges. Thei that were there assembled, were abasshed, and mercuailled greatly, that one

man

man coulde do it. He was dyuers times asked, wher he lerned so many thynges. And he answered and said, The slouth of man is the cause, that one art is dyuided into diuers artes. For he that knoweth all artes togyther, muste nedes knowe one alone. This philosopher answered highly. And surely they that hearde hym, ought to haue bene as greatly ashamed of his wordes, as the philosopher was of the vaynglory of his apparel. Leat euery man remember hym selfe, and let no man blame the shortnesse of the tyme, nor wekenesse of our nature. For there is nothyng so harde, but it is made softe: nor so high, but it maie be raught: nor kept so close, but it may be sene: nor so subtile, but it maie be felt: nor so darke, but it maie be lyghted: nor so profounde, but it may be discouered: nor so disseuered, but it maie be gathered together: nor so loste, but it maie be founde: nor so impossible, but it maie be concerued, if with all our hertes, we occupy our powers in good exercises, and apply our vnderstanding in high thynges. I deny not, but our nature is littell worthe: But I knowe well, that lesse worthe is our slouthfulnes

fulnes. I wolde demande of cuill men, the whiche praie vs to be good, and areth counsell of vs, for their sensualitee, saying, that they be weake and frayle, although they haue vnderstanding to inuent euils, and haue strengthe inough, to putte theim in effecte, and to persewer therein, they neuer lacke constaunce. The cause is, we call it naturall, for to doo and commyt vyces and miseries. And slouthe in vertue, we call straunge and weake, bycause of the workes.

¶ Let no man blame our nature, for beyng weake and faint: nor iaie agaynst the goddes, that they be cruell: for we haue no lesse ableines to doe well, than redinesse to doo yll. Lette none saie, I wouide, and I can not withdrawe me from vice. It is better saied, I maie, but I wyll not folowe vertue. I wyll not defame straunge realmes, but I wyll speake of vs, that be latynes, and by them shall be sene, how thei haue ben full of malyce, and that they myght haue doone well. I would witte of the deedes, that Marcus Antonius dyd with Cleopatra: The proscription, that Scilla made of the nobles of

Rome:

Rome: The conturacion, that Catilins inuented against his countrey: The bloud, that was shedde for the cause of Pompeie, in the campe of Pharsale: And the great theft, that Julius Cæsar made of the treasor: the crueltie, that Nero did to his mother: the shames, that Caligula cõmitted with his sister: the treason that Brutus did to his father Caius: the shrewdnes and crueltie, that Domician did to the virgins Vestales: the treasons that Julius Patrocius vsed with the Siliciens and Sicilians: the fraies and murders that Ulpio the mariner made in the temples and churches of Campaine. I woulde know of suche, as I haue rehersed, and diuers other, that I speake not of, that applied theim to so many shrewde turnes, who leatted theym (if they had wold) to haue applied theim selfe to do other good dedes? All this I haue said my friende Polion, to answere, to that ye haue demaunded of me: That is, in what sciences I haue wasted and consumed my tyme. Wherfore it pleaseth me, to tell it to the. Into Nero my father, suffered me but eight yere in my childehode: and than, tyll I was ten

yere of age, I went to scole for to write and rede: and fro .x. yere to .xiii. I went to studie with Euforimion, and lerned grammer: fro .xiii. yere to .xvii. I learned eloquence, with Alexander the Greke, a famous oratour: fro that tyme to .xvii. yere, I was with Herto Calcedon, lernyng naturall philosophy. Those yeres passed, I was at Rhodes and studied humanitee, till I was .xxxii. yere of age. And than I went to Naples, where as I was three yere with Fioton a Greke, learnyng greke letters. And I put my good wyll so muche therto, that I spake, and wrote greke more easily than latine. Than I returned to Rome, where the warre of Dace arose, to the which Adrian my lorde sent me: And because that in armes, and in tyme of warre, I could cary no bookes of science, I determined me, to lerne the science of musike with Hieronime Commode, to thentent that I myght with swetenesse of instrumentes, restrain my body fro certain vices, whiche as than in my house began to take force. All the rest of my lyfe, thou knowest, it hath ben in bearyng of offices in Rome, vnto the tyme that the weyght of the mo-

narchy

narchy was laied on my shoulders. Hi-
therto the emperour spake.

¶ Than by this letter written to his freende, it semeth well, that without sleuth he passed his time. It is reason, to beleue it holly, in that he hath saied. For so excellent workes, that he made, and so high sentēces, as he wrote, might not procede, but of a prudent man, and a very wise spirite.

¶ How for the wisedome of Marcus, many wise men florished in his time. Capitulo.iiii.

As the life of the prince is but a white, for all other to shote at, and as a glasse, wherin all the worloe dooeth beholde: so we see by experience, that whereunto a prince is inclined, the people trauaylyng to folow the same, haue not the discrecion, to eschew the euill, and folow the good. Certainely thei muse no lesse vppon a counterfait fowl, made of fethers, than thoughte it were of fleshe, and yet at

the first flight, it leseth the libertee, and yet his hunger is not therby quenched. Wherby all the wynges of libertee are tourned to peine of seruage. It is a great offence, and an immortall infamie to a prince, that in the stede of giuyng his hand of good liuyng, to relieue other, casteth backeward his fote of euill example, wherby all other ouerthrowe. Than without compatison, greatter is the wickednesse of the people, than the negligence of the prince. For if one lyueth yll, and an other foloweth him, it is no meruail: and though there be but few, that folow hym, it is no new thyng. Nor in case, that many folow hym, it is no fearefull thyng, but al the hole to folow hym, is a great sclaunder. If the people were suche, as thei ought to be, one shuld rather turne from ill to good for many, than that many for one shoulde tourne from good to yll. Certainely euery man knoweth, that though we be bounde to folow the honest commaundementes of our princes, yet we be not bound to folow their ill liuyng. What shall we saie than, seyng that nowe a daies, the delytes of men are of so great price, and the vi-

gour

gout of their empire in so poore estimation, that without shame, some dispraise their iust commaundementes, and folowe their euill workes. O, yf the princes had such noumbre of good folke, that wold fulfill their commandement, as thei haue great nombre of wretches, that folow their doynges, I sweare, that there should be no nede of any prison for misdoers, or carcans for blasphemers, chaynes for slaues, nor headdyng blockes for traitours, nor knyues for aduoutrers, nor galowes for theues. I will giue you exemple of all this, wherby ye shall see, that it is true, that I sate. If the kyng be inclined to hunte, all will be hunters: if he be a player, all will play: if he vse armes, all will tourney: if he be an aduoutrer, other will vse the same: if he be fierce, other will be fierce: if he be vertuous, all will be vertuous and valiant: if he be temperate and moderate, all will absteyne: if he be hardy, all will be bold: if he be pitifull, all will haue pitie: if he be wise, all will learne. And to the entent, that we blame not all onely the princes of our daies, lest vs call to memorie, the princes of time past. Who

that hath redde Hertus Cheronense, in his boke called the diuers inclinacions, that princes haue had, shall finde that Romulus, foundatour of Rome, honored greatly grauers in stone: Numa Pompilius, his successour, honoured priestes: Paulus Emilius, maryners: Caius Cæsar, goldsmithes: Scipio the capitaines: Augustus Octauius tennis players: Caligula, ruffiens: Tiberius, baudes: cruell Nero, swoord players: Claudius writers: Scilla, armourers: Marius, his compaignion, grauers of Images: Vaspasian, good painters: Titus his eldest sonne, minstrelles: Domicion his mighty brother, crossebowmakers: And aboue all other our Marcus Aurelius emperour, wise men. The diuers inclinacions, that princes had in diuers thynges, hath made to vary the fauour and disfauour of many princes, with their people. And as the common people regarderh more fauour, than iustice, suche officers are most fauoured, to whom princes doth most incline. All this we saie, to shew, howe that in the time of this good emperour, wise men were fauoured. If the historians do not lie, sith

the

the tyme of Mecena, the Romain (whi-
che was muche more happie, to haue
wise men to his frendes, than to inuent
new maner of meates and bankettes)
vnto this Marcus Aurelius, haue pas-
sed .xvii. emperours, whiche were Ius-
lius, Octauius, Tiberius, Caligula,
Claudius, Nero, Galba, Othus, Vi-
tellius, Vaspasianus, Titus, Domicia-
nus, Nerua, Traianus Adrianus, An-
thonius, and Aurelius, And of all these,
we can finde all onely but two, that fa-
uoured wyse men, that is to saie, Ner-
ua and Traian. Al the other emperours
were not onely disciples al lyers, but
also were persecutours of the trouth.
This semeth to be trewe: for Julius
persecuted Cicero: Octauianus banished
Ouide: Tiberius empoisoned Caluicio:
Caligula caused to cut the throtes of
iiii. oratours togither: Nero slew his
maister Senec: Claudius sette his vn-
cle Lucan in prison: Othus hanged vp
Patroclus: Domician banished all the
oratours of Rome: And the more to
shew his cursednesse, whan the wyse
men, that were banished, went out at
one gate, There entered in at an other
gate all vnthryftes, the which by Ty-
 tus

tus his brother, had ben banyshed and exiled. And as I saie of these fewe in nombre, I might saie of many other. For certainely the wise men were not thus entreated in the tyme of this good emperour Marcus: and that this is true it semeth by diuers excellent barons, well learned in diuers sciences, that flourished in his time: Julius Capitolin recounteth of them as foloweth: Alexander a Greke, Trasion, Polion, Euticius, Anius Maction, Caninius, Crodiaticus, Fornius, Cornelius, Apolonius, Rius, Sextus Cheronese, Junius Rusticus, Claudius Maximus, Cina Catulus, Claudius Seuerus, and the renowmed Diogenitus painter, and the well lerned lawier Volusius Mecianus. All these were in this emperors palais, and resident in his presence: And yet for all that, he had dyuers other wise persons in Rome, and abrode in Italie. It was no meruaile, to se in those daies, the multitude of men that flourished in wisedome. There was no father, but if he had two sonnes, he would set one of them to studie, and the other accordyng to the Romaine lawe, should be set to warres. And if this empe-

perour

perour wist of any wyse yong man, a-bout all other he wold fauour hym.

¶ Of the emperour Marcus sonne named Uerissimus. Cap. v.

THis emperour Marcus antelius, had onely two sonnes, as Herodian saieth. The grettest and eldest was called Comode, and the yongest was named Uerissimus. He was a tayre childe of person, and right vertuous of liuing. With his beautie he drewe to hym the eies of many, and with his good inclinacions, he robbed the hertes of all men. He was the hope of the people, and the glory of his fathers age. And though the eldest was prince, yet the emperour determined, that the last born, for his vertues, shuld inherite as the eldest. And he that was fyrste borne, for his demerites, should be disherited. And as good desyres in the best tyme faile often by vnhappy chaunce, this emperour beyng of.iii.yeres of age, and the son of.xvi. the glory of Rome, and hope of the father, the lyfe of the sonne tobe an ende. And as

muche was the death bewalled, as the life desired. It was greatte pitie. For the senate by reason therof saw not the emperour, nor the olde emperour for sorow saw not the senate of a long space. Rome was tyght heauy, and the senate withdrew theim to the height of the capitoll diuers daies. And as the mystes and wyndes cause the leaues to fall, that were greene in sommer, and the dedes of honour constraine vs to forget the mischappes of fortune, so as a man of high linage, and of strong courage, though that sorow remayne in his heart, and abideth locked therin, determineth to clense the braunches of sorowes that is outward, fainyng ioye and mirth outwardly, kepyng the sorow within: so this Marcus the emperour, as a man, whose vyne feeleth and dieth, wherein he had all his hope, contented hym with that was left behynd. When his dere sonne Verissimus was dead, he sent for the prince Comode his onely inheritour, which sith the child his brother was dead, entered not into the palais. And the emperour seyng the proude and outragious port of his sonne Comode, bedewed his eien with

salt

salt teares, remembryng the shame of the one, and the death of the other. The whiche perceiued by Faustine his mother, whiche loued him most entierly, commaunded to haue hir sonne awaie from the presence of his father.

¶ What wise and auncient men Marcus chose to instruct his sonne. Cap. vi.

Though that the herte of this emperor was occupied with the death of his child, yet for all that he reised his vnderstaundyng, to haue the prince his heire, right well brought vp. For certainly princes ben suche, whan thei come to mans estate, as thei be brought vp in their tender youth. The father than knowyng the frayle inclinacions of his childe, not correspondent to the good gouernaunce of the Empyre, as a good Emperour sent ouer all Italy for the most wisest persons in learnyng, the most famouse of renowme, and the most vertuouse in dedes. And as in diuers thynges the inti-

infamie is greatter in the vil doyng by malice. than the faute of the trespasser by weakenes: so in diuers other thynges. the common voice is more than the secret vertue. For the whiche occasion after the assemblyng of these wise men, the emperour commaunded to examine them, and to be enformed of the bloud of their predecessours, of the appointment in all their thynges, and of the treatie of their busynesse, and of the residence among their neighbours, and of the pursues of their iurys, and grauitee of their persons and finally of their sciences. that they could do, and this to be done in an order. The Astrologiens in astronomy, the musiciens in musike, the orateurs in their art of Rhetorike, And some in other sciences. And this not in one daie. but in many, and not only by informacion of other, but he would know it by his own proper experience. Thus they were all examined, so that there was none lefte behynde. And as for perfecte knowlage of thynges, wherin we haue great affection, it behoueth to haue straunge aduise, clere vnderstandyng, and proper experience: so the emperour com-

mau-

mãded to chose out of diuers a few, and out of few the wisest. and of the wisest the most expert, most worthy, and most ancient. And according to the.vii. artes liberal there was assigned to euery sciẽce two maisters: so that the prince was one, & the maisters.xiiii. This renowme that the emperour sent ouer all, to haue maisters for his sonne the prince, caused to come to hym mo wise men from straunge cuntreis, than of the marches and neighbours of Rome. The good emperor consideryng that it was no reson, that suche as came to his seruice: shoulde retourne miscontented, some with ioyfull wordes, some vpon certain hope, and some with gyftes and presentes were dispatched, so that thei wer all pleased. And if this doyng was renowmed by the report of the wise mẽ, it was no lesse vertuous by the wisdom and worthynes of the emperour, to send them home so well content. For he sent them awaie as well satisfied that were ouercome, as thei were contented that ouercame theim. And certainely thei had all reason, for some hare the swete wordes and satisfieng of the father: and smoe abode there charged with the

enter

enterprise of the sonne. Yet the good emperour, not beyng contented with this, commaunded that these maisters shuld be lodged in his palais, and eate in his presence, and accompany his persone, to see if their life were conformable to their science, and whether their pleasant and well couched wordes, agreed in effect with their workes. It was a meruailous thyng to see the study and thought that the emperour had to regard theim, as well in goyng as in seeyng.

How it chaunced to fiue wise men, wherefore they were put out of the emperours house. Capitulo. vii.

IN the moneth of September, the .xi. daie thereof, in halowynge the feast of the emperours natiuitee, in the same house where as he was borne, in the place of mount Celio. As a frewand and foole doeth like him selfe, and semblablie as he is accustomed

med to do. And lyke as one doeth the semblable thynges and customes, that he is wont to doe: so the emperour set more his intencion on wise men, than his eies on fooles. He saw tyue of theym latte beatyng the pauement with theyr feete, and arose from theyr places, clappyng theyr handes, speakyng lowde, and laughyng exceedyngly, the whiche was no lesse marked of the emperour than beholden. Whan the feest was doen, he called theym asyde, and saied: Frendes, lette abyde with me the piteteull goddes, and let the good dedes go with you. I haue chosen you to the entent that fooles shoulde be conuerted to wise men, but I see wise men become fooles. Doe ye not know, that with the fyre of myrrure golde is drawen, and by the lyghtnes of fooles wise men are proued? Certainely the fyne golde defaudeth his qualitees in the quicke furnaies, and likewise the wyse man sheweth his vertues among fooles. Wote ye not, that a foole can not be knowen among fooles, nor a wyse man among sage folke? Among wise men, the foole is made bright, and among fooles wise men doe shyne. Do ye not know,

What

what shame it is to make the disciples of fooles, maisters of princes. Know ye not, that of the courageouse vnderstandyng procedeth the composicion of the bodie, the rest of the persone to be thy temperance of the tongue: what profiteth it you to haue an erpeete tongue, a quicke memory, a clere vnderstandyng great science, profounde eloquence, or a swete style, if with all these graces ye haue a wicked wyll? Wherfore wyll wise men haue their wordes so distincte and moderate, if their wordes be light? And to thentent that it should not seme so you that I speake of pleasure, I wyll bryng to you an antike lawe of Rome. In the seuenth table of the lawes of our fathers was written these wordes. We commaunde, that a more greuouse chastisement be gyuen to the wise man for a light dede done openly, than to a secrete murderer. O iuste lawe, and iust men that ordeined it. For the simple labourer sleeth but one with his knyfe in his anger, but he that is wise sleeth many with the euill exaumple of his liuyng. Curiously I haue regarded, that Rome beginneth to declyne, when our senate fayleth of meke and

wise

wyse Senatours, and multiplieth with these serpentines. The holy senate was adorned with olde prudent persons: And not without teares, I saie at this houre it is full of ianglers and lyers. Aunciently in the schooles of Grece was taught onely wordes, leauyng the worke: and than in Rome was taught to dooe workes, and leaue wordes. But now it is contrary, for now in Grece the liers and ianglers are banisshed, and hath sent theym to Rome: and Rome hath banisshed and sent the good wise men into Grece; and in this maner I desyre rather to be banished into Grece with wise men, than to abide in Rome with fooles. To the praise of a good man (I sweare to you my friendes) that whiles I was yong, I saw in the senate the philosophier Crisippus (brought vp with good Traian) speake oftentimes: and he was so swete in his wordes, that many tymes he was harde more than thre houres to gyther. And he neuer spake worde but it was of eternall memory. And whan so euer he went out of the senate I neuer sawe hym do dede, whereby he deserued to haue greuouse peyne.

¶ Certainly it was a meruailous thing to see and here the estimacion of his eloquence, and the infamy of his person. All Rome was abasshed of his high eloquence, and all Rome and Italy wer sclaundered with his wicked workes. The prosperitee of Rome dured. CCC. yere. And so longe Rome was Rome, as it had simplicitie in wordes, and grauitee in woorkes. One thyng I shall shew you, which is great confusion to theim aline, and great admiracion to theim that be dead, that of all the auncient men I neuer redde a lyght woord that they spake, nor any euill dede that they did. What thyng was seene than in that glorious worlde, but to reioyse in so gloriouse wise men? And now at this daie the world is so corrupted, bycause there is so many yonge corrupt, surely I haue greatter enuy of theyr deedes than of our wrytynges. Theyr few woordes and good workes haue left vs exaumple of great admiracion. And the wise men of this tyme teache vs openly, and write vs secretely doctrines of perdicion. Than by this that I haue saied, and by other exaumples that I shall saie, yo may know what

I meane

I meane. When the realme of Acaye submitted his perilous hornes, and his proude heade, to the sweete obeysaunce of the empire, thei drew theim to this condicion, that thei would haue ben the hoostes of the garnisons of all Acaie, and not disciples of the oratours of Rome. At that season there was in Rome a great lord, ambassadour of Acaie, temperate in woordes, and honest of liuyng, with a white heade: He was enquired of the senate, why he was so cruel, to leade into his countrey for men of warre, poore and courteous squiers, and leaue wise men of great bert. He answered with suche loue as he had to his countrey, and with such grauitee as longed to suche a person, and also with suche hardinesse, as his office required, saiyng: O fathers conscriptes, O happy people, It is. ii. daies sith I eate any thyng, and .ii. daies sith I slept, cursyng the fatall destinies of fortune, that hath brought me into Italy, and lamentyng vnto the goddes, that keepe me in this life, bycause my spirite is betwene the hard anuelde and the importunate hammer, where as I do see al is as hard as the anuelde, wher-

on the hammer often striketh. The thyng most perilous among all perils, is to make election. Ye constraine me to chose, and myne vnderstandyng can not attein thereto: and the goddes do not shewe me, what I haue to chose. If I lead garrisons of men of armes, it shall be very noysull to the familles, if I bryng aduocates, it shall be perilous for the common wealth. Sorowfull that I am, what shall I do? Oh heauy and vnhappy realme, that abydeth for theim, and ye cruell, that commandeth theim. Than sith it is thus, I determine me to leade theim, that shall wast our goodes, and spende theim, rather than those that shoulde corrupte and breake our customes. For a legion and an army by necessitee maie put to affliction and sorow onely a people: But an oratour or an aduocate by his malice, maie corrupt a hole realme. Than saied the emperour to these wise men: Frendes, how great is the credence of ignoraunt people, and lolle of learned men? Wherfore shuld they of Acaie rather giue meate to poore souldiours, men of armes, than to haue for their neighbours orators and wise speakyng

kyng aduocates? So whan this communicacion of the emperor was ended, the fyue great maisters went awaie with great shame, and the.ix. other taried with great feare. In all this while it passed not two monethes after, that the prince Comode was come from his nources, where as he had lerned the doctrine of suchyng of brestes. Also he was but of tender age, and not of great delicate vnderstandyng. The prince Comode was borne in Rome on the mũt Celio, and nourished at the gate of Hostie. He was more deerely beloued of Faustina his mother, thanne hated of Marcus Aurelius his father. And to speke with all due honour among them, the mother held hir for certain to be the childes mother: and the childe according to his customes was muche like his mother: and the father was in doubt, whether he wer his son, bycause he resembled but lyttel in vertues to the father.

How the emperour reasoned with the maisters that shoulde learne his sonne. Capitulo viii.

T these matters beyng past, the good emperour for to esteme the thyng that he had doone, and to pursue for that he had to do, he called aside the nine wise men, & sated to them. There is great fame in Rome of that I haue done in the empire, to do such diligence as to discouer all the wise men, & of the curiositee that I haue shewed as in enterteinyng of the best. Of trouth if ye be wise, ye can not be sclaundered of anything. The annoyance of ill thynges esmeth of wisedome and vertue, but the admiracion of good thynges procedeth of small vnderstanding or lesse experience. The wise person will suffer none admiracion. To shewe at the first bronte mocion in euery thing, sheweth to be constant in nothyng. I haue made straite examinacion among you, for so ought suche to passe as should be admitted to

straite

strait amities. New amities is wea-
ry in three daies: and euer haue I seene
and proued by experience, that friendes
lyghtly taken, are lightly left agayn.
I chaunced in companie of an auncient
Romayne, Whiche was all white for
age, and bycause he merited it, I called
him father, and he for loue and nurture
called me sonne, the which in case of ad-
uenture inquired many thynges of me;
but I would make hym none answere,
Than he saied these wordes to me. Son
beholde, In the law of frendeship, it is
written, that the friende in all thynges
trusteth to his friend, fyrste regardynge
who is his friend. Surely this counsail
was good. The curious man of armes
(yf he wyll by a horse) fyrst he wyll see
hym renne and assaied, or he speake of
the sale of hym, yf he please hym not,
though he myght haue hym, for a lesse
pryce, he wil not haue hym: yf he please
him, what so euer the price is set, he wil
not leaue hym. Than it is a lefull thing,
that the beast be examined, and felt ere
he be had into the stable. In lyke wyse
a man should be examined, ere he be re-
ceiued into amitie. And if the hors that
eateth but hey, straw and otes, be lefte
for

for one ylle tatche, much more the frend, whiche is the intestine of the heart, and ought to kepe our secretes and affections, for diuers fautes ought not to be receiued into the same. There was a philosophier named Aristo, the first that was in the time of Silla and Mastius, who saied, that frendes ought to be lyke good horses. That is to say, that they ought to haue a litteil heade by humble conuersacion, quicke of heryng, to the intent that they be ready whan they are called, a soft mouthe, to thend that their toungue be temperate. The hous of the foote hard, to suffre trauail, and their handes open to doo good dedes, their iete sure to persuer in amistee, a bay colour for his good renoume. And finally the horse returneth, that is the manuell friend, And therto is ioyned these wordes. That is, that he be without curbes, and bittes, and that he may goe where as any fatall destinies sourneth the bridell and reigne of fortune. The goddes vnderstand me, though that men can not attein therto or comprise it. Returnyng than to the purpose, I wyll ye know, bycause I haue taken you for frendes, not to put

you

you away at length. And though that cheritrees produceth theyr flowres in February: we abyde not to haue the cheries but in May. Friendes ought to be as mulberies, that in suche tyme produceth their beries, which is their fruite, that they feare not the frostes of May, as the vines doe, nor the mystes of October, as the peches and quinces do. I wyll not that they come, whan the prosperitee is good, and goe awaie whan the fortune is nought. For that is no poynct of true friendes. As the lies of wynes causeth drunkardes to vo myt in the taucrnes, lyke wise aduersitee driueth away faynt friendes out of the house, bycause the seruice is not acceptable, without the wyll be knowen of him that doth it. Than holde you sure of my contentacio, sith that I haue it of your wozhes. I come nowe to the effect of our purpose. I haue taken you for to be maisters of this child, and regarde, that I haue taken you few among many, to the ende that my sonne should be noted among few. His nurses at the gate of Ilosty haue gyuen him two yeres sucke of their milke, and his mother Faustyne hath giuen hym other

two yeres to sport him in the Palais. And I lyke a good father will giue him xx. yeres of chastisement. It sore displeaseth Faustyne his mother to leaue hym so soone, and I am sory that I tobe hym so late. It is no maruaill for these women with their lightnesse, and these children with their small knowlage, occupy theim selfe in thynges present: But worthy wyse men ought to thynke on that is passed, and also to ordein for that that is present, and with great study to prouyde for the tyme to come. I thynke oneuery daie in the yere, and of the daie that the goddes haue gruen me, and of the day that I giue vnto you. The goddes to me, and I to you doo giue him mortall to be as a man. and than you to me, and I to the goddes do render him immortall to be wyse.

¶ What will ye that I say more? Certainely god hath made him manne among men by the sowl, and I haue engendred hym a beast amonge beastes by the flesh, ye shall make hym a god among goddes by shape. I ascertayne you of one thyng, which is, I haue not gruen to my chyld but mortall flesshe, wherwith he shall take an ende of his

life:

life: but ye shall giue hym doctrine, wherwith his memory shall neuer perish. If his youth hurte the weake and faint flesh that I haue giuen hym, and that his dull vnderstandyng wold reach to the wisedom that ye may giue him, he should call you fathers, and me an yll stepfather. And though he saie not so, yet I confesse it, that is, that the naturall fathers of the flesshe are stepfathers of nobleneſſe, sith that we giue the naturalitee of theim subiect to so many mutabilitees, and bonde and captiue to so many miseries. For certaine ye shall be iust fathers to hym, if as now ye can enable his flesh in good customes, and than to bryng his vnderstandyng to be occupied with high sciences. And sirs, repute it not small, that I committe to your charge and arbitrement, that thyng which princes ought most to regard, that is, to see, to whom thei cõmit the nourishyng of their children. To be maisters of princes in earth is to haue the office of the goddes that ben in heauen. For thei gouerne hym that hath cure to gouerne vs: Thei endoctrine hym that shuld teache vs, thei shew vnto hym, that ought to shew vs,

That

Chastise him that ought to chastise vs, and finally thei commaunde one, the which afterward alone maie command all the worlde.

¶ What will ye that I shal saie more? For certayne thei that haue the charge of a prince, be the gouernail of the ship, the standerd of an army, the gouernance of people, the guide of waies, the shild of kynges, the treasure of all, bycause thei haue among their handes, hym that afterward ought to gouerne all the worlde. And furthermore to thentent that ye haue hym in more estimacion, I will tell you, that in giuyng my sonn vnto you, I do giue you more, than if I had giuen you a realme. The pure and cleane liuyng of the sonne aliue, is the glorious fame of his father that is deade. For of him, that the sonne trusteth in his life, dependeth the renowm of the father that is dead. Thus haue ye had the gods at will, and the brittell destinies of Fortune happie to you, as vnto this houre ye haue not watched with children of strangers. Fro henseforth wake ye with the prince, whiche is the profite of all other. And take good heede my frendes, that there is

greate

greatter difference in bryngyng vppe of princes children, than to teache yonge boies of the common people. The moſt parte of theim that come to ſchooles, come for to learne to ſpeake, but I deliuered not my ſonne Comode to you to learne him to ſpeake many wordes: but for to ſette him in the waie to doe good dedes. The glorie of fooliſhe fathers is to ſee their children vanquiſhe other in diſputyng, but my glorie and ioye is to ſee my ſon ſurmount other in vertue. For the glory of the Grekes was to ſpeake muche and to do lytteil, and the glorie of the Romaines is to doe muche and to ſpeake but litteil.

¶ How the maiſters of princes ought to kepe theim from vices. Capitulo. ix.

MArcus Aurelius folowyng his purpoſe, ioyned this to his foreſaid wordes, and ſaied: Regard wel my frendes, and forget not, that I truſt you in myne honour, who am my ſonnes father: and of the ſtudie of Comode my ſonne,

ſonne, and of the glory of Rome my naturall countrey, And of the ſolace and reſt of Rome, whiche is my ſubiect: Of the gouernaunce of Italy, which is your countrey. And about all thynges of the peace and tranquillitee of our cõmon wealth. Than he that is put in truſte with ſuche adminiſtracion of other, hath no cauſe to ſcape. Nowe let vs come to more particular thynges. Regard as now, what thyng is moſte conuenable for my ſonne, whiche as a yong colte would go play in the grene meadowes, and peraduenture ſhalbe the keper to hym, and a thyng peinful to kepe hym therfro. The firſt thyng, whereof I pray you, is to giue him a ſtronge bydell, and a ſharp bytte, to the intent that he be well mouthed, ſo that none take him with lies. The greateſt faute that can bee in meane of honeſtie, is to ſpare the trouth, and not to be veryfiable. And the greateſt villany in a villayne is to be giuen in largeſſe of lies. Set good order vpon hym. Take hede to his handes, to the entent that he accuſtome him not to demaunde to play at the tables and dice with ſuche as be loſt and naught.

The

¶ The greatest token, that a prince wil lose and destroie the empire, is whan in his youge age, he is knowen to be vicious in play. The plaie is suche a vice, that who so euer it biteth, it is like the biteyng of a madde dogge, the whiche rage endureth vnto death. I recommende to you my chylde, though he be yonge, make hym sadde and moderate. Certainly it is not so great a glory vnto a prince to haue the crowne on his head, nor a charne of golde about his shoulders, nor the sceptre in his hande, nor the great company and garde that he hath about him, as to shew sadnesse from his youth. The open honestie supplieth many faultes and debilyties. Spare not to cast on hym a strong chayne, and to ty hym fast, that he goe not to delites and vanities. For an effeminate persone neuer hath spirite to any high or noble deedes. I am greatly satisfied with that the teacher of Nero said to his disciple, Though I wyst that god would pardon me, and that men knew no misse of me, yet for the vyllany of the flesh, I would not sinne in the flesh. Surely they were good wordes, and yll borne away of Nero.

Let

Leat not yet goe the reine. For if he see the yong mares, he will neigh or braie, if he see tyme. The vice of the flesshe in all tymes, in all ages, and in all estates holdeth his season or course, if it passe not in the grene age of childehod, castyng of the reine of reason, and strikyng with the spurres of the flesh, and blowig with the trompe of sensualitee. Takyng the bridell in the teeth with a furious will, rennyng thorough mountaynes and woddes after the mare, Jn leauyng hir, goyng but softly, and in the ouertakyng muche lesse. And than afterward beyng therin deliberate, the bodie remaineth impotent, the vnderstandyng a. loied and blinded, the reason troubled, the good name losse, and yet neuertheiesse at the laste the flesshe remaineth flesshe. What remedy for this? I fynde none other, but that a greatte quicke fyre, couered and laden with earth, dieth. And whan the vicious manne is laied in his graue, he maketh an ende and maie neuer correct hym selfe. Wherfore I aduise you to giue no place to this yong chylde to be vicious. And in the chastisyng of hym giue no respite, though he be ponge,

and

and my childe, and well loued and cherished with his mother, and though he be the onely heire of the empire.
With children of a stranger, cruelitee is tyranny, but a mans owne childe pitie is the occasion of his losse in tyme to come. It is shewed vs by trees howe we ought to nourishe our children.
Of trouth the chestain tree bryng forth the soft swete cleft nut out of the sharpe prickyng and hard huske. And on the nut trees among the swete soft leaues, is nourished the harde nut. Applyng this to our purpose, we haue seene a pitiefull father, bring forth a cruel sonne, and a cruell father a pitiefull sonne.
He that was learned among all other learned, and renoumed among al other renoumed, Lycurgus kyng of the Lacedemonians, in guiyng his lawes in this realme, I remembre to haue red theres in these woordes. We commaunde as kynges, and pray as men, that al thyng be forgiuen to theim that bee olde and broken, and to theim that be yonge and lusty, to dissimulate for a time, and nothyng to be forgiuen to very yong children. In good sooth these were good woordes spoken of suche a persone, and

semeth reason. For it is reason that the horse, that hath runne and passed his course of carriage, shoulde rest him. And who that hath passed rightuouslye it is Iustice that he be suffred in rest. And the childe that will passe reason, ought to be reformed. Cause him to be alwaies occupied in vertuouse actes. For if the vnderstandyng be dulled, and the body slouthfull in suche age, with great difficultee will thei draw to thinges that be straunge to their delectacions, because that the lightnesse is in the head, and reason vnder the eies. His youth will demaunde you some recreacion, whiche ye shall consider, so it be not often nor to seldome. First that it be by reason, Secondly that thei be taken in noble exercises. Take hede, For I giue not my son vnto you, that ye shuld giue him recreacion, but onely for to teache him.

¶ The henne hauyng hir egges vnder hir wynges, in that season goeth not a brode in the yardes, and though the egges be not hir owne, yet she hatcheth theim, as if thei were hir owne. For this cause at this time in Rome of a C. disciples, &c. cometh forth with-

out

ant doctrine, for if their maisters waast two houres in doctrine with them, they lese with them. xx. houres in mockery. And therof it is, that of the small grauitie of the maister, springeth greatte boldnes and litell shame in the disciple. Beleue me frendes, that the teachers to princes, and maisters to disciples, profite more in one hate with good exaumples, than in a yere with many lessons. My sonne seyng you drawe to vertues, will draw to the same: if he see you studie, he wyll study: if he se you peasible, he will be still: he seyng you temperate in feedyng, wyll eate but litell: seyng you shamefast, he wyll feare you: seyng you restfull, he wyll reste: and if ye doe contrary, he wyll doe contrary. This surely is true: for the auncient men onely with the cupll that they se, eyther do they corrupt their bodies, or slaunder their own iudgementes, as children do, that can say nothyng but that they here, nor do nothyng but that they se. I wyll also that the prince my sonne learne the vii. artes liberall. For I haue taken many of you, to thentent that ye should teache hym muche. And if at the last we should be sorowfull, bycause he hath

not lerned, all we shall not be sorie, if he know muche, nor thynke his tyme yll spent nor be begiled in saiyng, that he knoweth enough of that so yong a child shuld haue to gouerne and rule the empire. A very philosophier after the law of linnage, ought to haue speche at place and time conuenient, to fight in the feld and to speake in the senate. If myne owne remembraunce begyle me not, among mine antiquities I haue brought a stone out of Grece, the which Pythagoras the philosopher held at the gates of his schole wherin was written with his own handes, these wordes: He that knoweth not that he ought to know, is a brute beast amoug men: he that knoweth no more, than he hath nede of, is a manne amonge brute beastes: He that knoweth all, that maie be knowen, is a god amonge men. O most high wordes, Glorious is the hande that wrote theim, the whiche not at the gates, as they wer than, ought to be written, but within mens breastes they shoulde bee paynted and grauen. Our forefathers toke the last sentence of this philosopher, and the fyrst rebuke abydeth to vs theyr last children. For certayne among

mong the Greekes and Lacedemonians was atteined as muche fame by theyr philosophers and cõquestes, as by theyr writynges, whiche they haue left vs. And our former emperours gat no lesse loue in theyr empire by their profounde eloquence, than they feared al the worlde by their noble triumphes. For a proffe whereof beholde Iulius Cæsar, which beyng in the middell of his campe, with his lyft hande would holde his speare, and his penne in his right hand. Ne he neuer left of his armour, but furthwith he toke his bookes. We muste not lay excuses, saiyng with them that be ignorannt, that the liberall artes are to hye, and the tyme that we haue very short. For certayne the diligence of men in times past reproueth our slouth at this daie. One thyng I do see, that in a short while we learne all yll, but in a long season we can not learn goodnes. Will ye see, what is our fortunes and destinies, and in what thought the goddes do kepe vs, that for to doe one good dede we lacke tyme, and for to do many shrewde tournes, we haue to muche tyme. I wyll saie no more, but that I woulde, my chylde shoulde be nouri-

shed in suche wise, that he shuld learne the feare of god, the science of philosophiers, the vertues of auncient Romaines, the quietnesse of you his maisters, and the goodnesse of al theim that be good, as he hath taken of me to be the byrse of the empyre. I protest to the immortall goddes, to whom I trust for to goe, and protest to the high capitoll, where my bones shalbe brent, that neyther Rome nowe in my Lyfe, nor the heauen in times to come shall curse me after my death, if by yll iuryng my son shoulde lese the common weith, yf by your small chastisement ye shalbe cause of the losse of the empyre.

Howe the emperour Marcus nourisshed the princesses his doughters. Cap x.

MArcus Aurelius the Emperour had two sonnes, that is to wit the prince Commode and Verissime, He had foure doughters by Faustine his wyfe: Legitimate and bey-

tes

tes of the empire. This emperour was exceedyng diligente for to nourishe his doughters. As soone as any of theim were borne, forthwith thei were put to nours into some ferme without Rome: He wolde neuer suffre any of his childrene, sonnes nor doughters to be nourished within the walles of Rome. Nor consent, that thei shulde sucke the brestes of delicate women. He hated delicate and gaye nourses, and thei that were laborous homely and holsome he loued, and to theim and none other he betoke his children to nourishe, and he wolde neuer agree, that thei shoulde be brought home to his house.

¶ He was wonte to saie in his sportyng. I haue more a doe to content these nourisses, than to marie my doughters. Homere sheweth, that in Grece there died Arthemio, that was kynge of Argiue, without any sonne to inherite: and the nourse, that had nourisshed hym, with all hir might remaunded the realme for a son of hirs, whiche had sucked of the same milke, that the saied kyng had done, allegyng, that sith thei were bothe nourisshed togyther, and sucked one milke, that thei

both shulde inherite one realme. This saied Homere, to reproue the nourses of Grece, whiche toke more presumpcion for nourisshyng of princes, than queenes did in bearyng of theim. Therfore this noble Marcus Aurelius emperour, would not that his doughters alonly shuld sucke grosse and rude milke, but he would not agree, that any reuerence, honour, or seruice should be done vnto theim, as it belongeth to the children of so high princes to bee dooen, and as the custome is to be doen. On a daie as the said emperor was at supper, a foole named Galindo, at whose wordes the emperour often toke pleasure, saied: Syr, yesterday I came from Salon, and fro the gate of Hostie, and there I sawe the emperours childrenne goe like labourers, and I se here in thy house labourers children go like emperours: Tell me why dooe ye dissimule as a wise manne, for I that am but a foole vnderstandeth it not. The emperour aunswered: O Galindo, bycause that yet at this time, Rome is not Rome, all though through al the world it be renoumed Rome. In my selfe I finde far more assurance, that my children

dren beginne like poore labourers, and ende as ryche emperours, than to begyn as ryche emperours, and end as poore squiers. Doest not thou know why Italy is nowe lost? They wouldē haue their children to be wantonly and delicately nourished, and wil not suffre theim to liue in trauaile, and to leaue their heires poore and nedy, and theim selfe to ende in great perill. This auns swere was so excellent in fame, that it was euer taken for a prouerbe in Rome. Whan this emperours doughters wer of two yere olde, incontinent he prouis ded women and maistresses for to teas che theim. Sextus Cheronense saieth, that he searched amonge the auncient matrones of Rome, whiche were clea= nest of life, most esteemed of good fame, of noblenesse of bloudde, of sadde wit, and that had ben most vsed in bringyng vp of princes children. This emperour was so thoughtful in the orderyng and teachyng of his children, that he would haue no woman, but if she were of. l. yere of age at the leaste, and. x. yere a wydowe, and that she had nourished a C. children, doughters of senetours. Imaginyng, that she that had medled

in so

in so many thinges of other mens, should not be ignorant in his own. After that he had prouided these maistresses, he caused his doughters to be brought to their houses, and there gaue them their charge. And from the byrth of any of his doughters, he woulde neuer consent that they shoulde come into his palais, tyll they shoulde haue housbandes. It chaunced, that Faustine the empresse childed a doughter, and she beyng certified, that it was like hir, and very faire, moued with a soft heart of woman head, and with a motherly affection praied the emperour, that the saide childe might be nourished in his presence, sith euery man saide, the childe was so faire and so like vnto them. The emperour aunswered and saied. Faustin, for those thinges that all other haue saied to you, doth it beseme you, to demand this of me? But I that haue red in this case, and in other cases haue seene, in no maner I ought to condiscende thereto. Do you not know, that the time, that the doughter is nourished in the house, the father is charged with thought, the mother with wanton flatteryinges, enuy in the brethern, bolds

boldneſſe in the doughter, and foly in the nourice. I woulde witte of you, if ſhe were nouriſhed in the houſe, what profiteth it, if hir maiſtreſſe teache hir ſadneſſe and honeſtee with hir wordes: and we entice hir to lewdeneſſe. with our workes and deedes? what profyteth it, if the doughter deſerue chaſtiſement, and the mother flatter and make hir wanton? Whose reaſon it were, that your doughter ſhould folow the good doynges of you, that are hir mother, than the wordes of the ſtrange widow, that is hir maiſters. Marke well Fauſtyne, if ye ought to reioyce at hir childiſhe toies. Remembre, that the pleaſure of yonge chyldren is but childes trifles. But if you nouriſhed theim not well, as the pleaſures wer ioyful whan they wer yonge, ſo whan thei be olde, to reteine theim, ſhal be greatter diſpleaſure. Therfore, if you be vertuous, withdrawe their tapyng trifles, as now for theym that ſhall be vertuous. I wyll tell you one thyng, I would rather my doughters in mine abſence, ſhoulde be diſciples to vertues, than to be maiſtreſſes in lewdeneſſe in my preſence. And ſith it is ſo, I deſire you, require it not

of

of me. And I desire you, that it be not so. I am importune on you, that ye be not importunate on me. I praie you, that you praie not me. Or els I commaund you, that you demaunde it no more of me. This harde answere of the father, ceased the importunitee and pitifull request of the mother. Thus Faustine, all fearefull, seyng the father within the walles of Rome, durst not goe see hir doughter without, but as priuily as she might.

How Marcus the emperour dyd chose and proued his sonnes in lawe. Cap xi.

Likewise as Marcus Aurelius the emperor surmounted in vertues all mortall men, that dyed, so for certain in mariage of his doughters he seemed to be kinne to the goddes that euer lyue: by the grace and gyft of god, or by his fortune he was as happy in vertuouse sonnes in lawe as greatly infortunate of dishoneste doughs

doughters. After the death of the good olde man, with the small thought of the prince his sonne in his gouernance, and vngoodly fame of his doughters in their liuyng, it semed to haue made and ende of the glorious memorie of the father, but if it were by the souereigne goodnesse of his sonnes in lawe, that he hadde chose by his lyfe tyme. It is dayly seene, that the losse of the father by euyll children, is wonne by vertuouse sonnes in lawe. Than Marcus Aurelius, in choosyng housbandes for his doughters, he toke not of dyuers, that the vanitee of the worlde offered hym: but of a fewe, that of many folkes were estemed to be of good behauioure, and that to his semyng were suche in deede. And as in mariages all the errour is to couet goodes that be in the purse, and not to examyne the personne that is brought to the house, the regardynge this, maryed not his doughters to straunge kynges, but to naturall borne Senatoures: not to suche as discended from hygh lynnage, as were the Scipions, Fabricians, and Torquates: but to suche that with their vertues reysed newly good lynnages: For he maried

theim

them not to suche as were presumptuouse of the prowes and deedes of theyr predecessours, but to them that resplendisshed by the deedes of their own persons. Nor of trouth he chose none that were very ryche, but suche as were vertuouse: nor such as were soone moued, but such as were quiete: not the high mynded: but the moderate, that were no bosters, but shamefast: no bablers but small speakers: no quarellers, but sufferers: not to presumptuouse, but them that were meke: not to hastie men, but theim that were paciente: not theym that were esteemed amonge the commons, but theym that deserued laude amonge wyse men. In this maner he trusted no persone, for he maried not his doughters to suche as wer praised a farre of: but to them that of longe tyme had ben proued nere hande. In good faith herein his reason was good. For in the thyng that toucheth a mans honoure, he that is wyse ought not to trust in the onely informacion of strangers. Nor he is not wise, that is so hardy to do all thynges by his own seming and opinion. And he is but a simple persone, that wyll dooe all thyng after the

opi-

opinion of straungers. And in these pointes the emperour Marcus hadde a good respect to kepe theim: In walkyng good rest. In speakyng great eloquence, in eatyng good temperaunce: In aunswerying great subtilitee, In his sentences and determinacions gret grauitee. And therfore in this cale of mariage he was full of grauitee, til he was therein determined. And this onely came not of him but of other, whan thei came to praie him. It befell that in a feast of the god Janus, the Emperour goyng to the campe of Mars, vpon a lusty horse fierse and stingyng, he met so rudely with a trūpettour, that courled as a knight vpon a horse, that with the stroke of meryng, the trumpettour was ouerthrowen with his hors, so that he was slayn, and the emperours horse legge broken, and his owne foote hurt, and his arme out of ioynt, So greatly encreased his hurt, that he was in peril. Italy in heauinesse, and all Rome was in doubt of his life.

And bicause a few daies afore that he had cōmunicacion of a mariage for his thirde doughter, named Matrina, for the determinacion that he shoulde haue made

made the same daie, greatte suite was made to him. But for the great peine of his arme, and the bloudde that was congeled in his body, and the anguyshe that was at his hearte, as for the demaunde that was offered hym, he differred the answere tyll an other daie. The whiche daie commen, in open presence he saied in this maner.

¶ What the emperour Marcus saied to the father of a yonge man that wold mary one of his doughters. Capitulo xii.

OFtentimes I haue sene in other, and haue proued by experience, that the small consideracion passed, and the gret acceleracion in busynesses now present maketh great inconueniẽces in time to come, oneles that at that pointe the thing bee committed to the vertue of some wise persone, rather thã to his owne sole opinion. Neuerthelesse in the case of mariage, though ẏ father bee wise, yet without the opiniõ of an other,

ther, he ought not to determine him lightly: for enuious fortune, though she shew hir selfe somewhat frowarde in all thynges, yet in this case of mariage, she ouerthroweth more than in all the other. He that will speake of mariage ought to entre into his owne secretnes, and to thynke profundely theron, as of a thyng that all his wealth lyeth in, his credence, his life, his honour, his good fame, the reste of his owne persoune and his flesche, whiche is his child. I am of opinion, that if all wise men were molten in a furnayes, they coulde not gyue one good counsell to make a mariage. And woulde ye that I, whiche am simple, shoulde do it lightly by my selfe? Truely therin behoueth right and sadde counsell. For ones fallen into the peryll thereof, none maie haue remedy without greatter peryll. The renoumed Marcus Porcius, whose liuing was a mirror in his dais, and his wordes and counsels remaine for a remembraunce, said openly in the senate: O noble fathers and happie people, by the decrees openly proclaimed in places accustomed, I knowe that in a counsell and senate ye ordeined three

thynges, that is, ye vndertoke to make a new warre agaynst the Parthes, to continew the enmitee against the Penicens, and to marie .v. C. matrones of Rome, to .v. C. knightes of Mauritany. And certainely I am abaſshed, that among wiſe men ſo high affaires ſhoulde be ſo ſone and ſodainly concluded and determined. To ſatiſfie myne vnderſtandyng, and for the good will that I owe to the countrey, I ſhall ſay one worde, that is, to begynne warre, and to purſue hatred and ill will, and to conclude mariages. In theſe cauſes a man ought to aſke counſaill of all the men of the worlde, and all the goddes ought to correct and amende it. And x. M. counſaillynges woulde be holden vpon eche of theſe thynges. Theſe wordes were woorthy of great recommendacion. For one thyng by diuerſe opinions ought to be determined: But many thynges by one opinion ought not to be determined. And if this bee for all thynges it ſeruyth than moſt ſpeciall in mariages. My friendes, ye ſay, that he that offereth hym to bee my ſonne in lawe, is greatly deſired loued and well named amonge the common people.

To

¶ To sell suche marchandise, sette it not in so yll a shewe. ¶ The credence of an honest man lieth not among the commen voice of the people, but among philosophers: not among many, but amõg fewe, not amonge how many, but what they bee. Ye knowe your selfe, that al this howrie al that the commons thinke is but a vaine thyng: that thei praise is false: that thei condemne is good, that thei approue, is nought, that thei alowe is vnlawfull, and finally all that they laude, is but folye. Their praisyng beginneth with lightnes, their folowyng without order: and it endeth with furie. O howe many haue I seene in Rome lyke the lies of wyne caste out of the senate, and after put as fyrebrondes of tauernes in Rome, by whose opinions the common wealth is gouerned, and with great lyghtnesse men put downe, and with no lesse lyghtnesse exalted agayne. Beholde here, that the woorkes of the people are holde in mockage with wyse men: and that that is agreed among them, is esteemed but for vanitees with wise men. For that that is meate, with philosophiers, is eaten but for brauue and chaffe with simple folke.

And contrary wise, the meale of the simple is but branne and chaffe amonge wyse men. Of all that our predecessors haue sifted, in these daies, the children of vanitee worke thereafter, for: thei will be desired, and hate to be hated. All suche holdeth a generall rule, that euery man that desireth to be beloued of euery man openly, can not escape fro dyuers secrete faultes. Shall I tell you, who is beste beloued nowe adaies? Than harken to me, and I wyll tell you, as muche as it toucheth to whom it maie touche, hurte who it maie hurte, feele it who that may feele it. The people loueth him that can dissimule with them, and him that is nought, and enuious of them that be good, and also suche as fauour liers, and setteth trouth aside, and suche as accompanieth with man kyllers and murtherers, and to be serued of theues, and fauoureth quarrellers, and pursueth suche as be peasible, defyeth offenders, and sleeth innocentes, renoumeth them that be shamefull, and shameth them that be of good fame: Finally he is moste sette by, that putteth them that be good fro him, and is the moste vaine amonge them that be

vaine

vayne. Certainely there is great suſpection to ſet him among wiſe men, that is allowed of all fooles. And the reaſon thereof is, that the commons lightly loue none but men that with malice reſtraineth them that be vertuouſe, and letteth the raine ſlippe to them that be vicious. Truely wyſe men haue him as ſuſpect, that the commons deſyre, whiche will not be diſpleaſed with his yll doynges. O how often times doth the goddes permit the ambicious man in honours, that procureth to be yl many daies without Juſtice, and doth not behold the ſodain hole loſſe therof with ſhame? Than take this woorde of me, that in the multitude of men there are few to be praiſed, and many to be reprecued.

¶ Howe a ſon in law ought to be well examined ere he be accepted to his purpoſe. Cap xiii.

NOwe to come to our particular purpoſe. Ye amonge you dooe praiſe this yonge man, and if his woorkes be as your woordes, ye ſhoulde

not onely saie, that he hath meryted to be my son in lawe, but rather meriteth to be only inheritor of the hole empyre. And therfore I woulde witte of you, whereof you can praise this your kinsman that there be no contrarietee betwene his workes and your wordes.
If he be rusticall, it abateth him sore: if he be of high blud, he wil be presumptuous: if he be riche, he will giue him to viciousenesse: if he be poore, he wyll be couetous: if he be valiant, he wyll be outrbolde: if he be a coward, he is defamed. if he be a great speaker, he shall be a lier: if he be to littell a speaker: he shall be noted as vnwise: if he be fayre, he wil be coueted: if he be foul, he wil be ielouse. Than if he be quitte of all these, I sweare to you, that I wyll geue him my doughter Matrine with al my hert. I do not sai this vnto you, bicause I suppose any yll in your kynseman: but to thentent that ye should thynke, that I saie it according to my naturalitee.
And than sith I saie it not agaynst your credence, for the knowlage that ye haue of hym, mistake not my suspection, syth that I am hole ignoraunte of this younge mans liuyng. And I wyll not
that

that ye shoulde thynke, that the childe my doughter, that hath bene brought vp in so great vertue in my palais, shuld bee maried to this younge man for the onely fame that he hath amonge the people. O howe often haue I seene in our tyme nowe, and haue redde of the worlde paſted, the whiche as nowe by commaundement of the goddes, at an other tyme by their il workes haue deſerued it, at an other tyme by their ſorowfull deſtinies haue permitted it, weenyng for to bryng ſonnes in lawe in to their houſe, haue brought in a hell. In ſtede of wiſe and faire doughters, haue recouered adders. And ſekyng ſonnes, haue found baſilike ſerpentes: In bryng of bludde, poyſon deliuered: In ſekyng friendes, thei haue found enemies: In demaundyng honour, ſhame hath be giuen: and finally in matryng their children, weenyng to haue liued merily, the ſorowfull fathers haue had euill life and a worſe deathe. And in caſe that ſuche ought to be moued more of theim that be ioyous, than thei that been ſory, of them that been ioyous, as well ought we to approue the iuſte chaſtiſement of the iuſte goddes, by the vn-

fuste workes dooen to iuste men. For he deserueth great chastisement, that with feareful hardinesse as a foole, determineth him selfe in high and difficult thinges with sodain counsayle. And therfore my friendes, if ye be vertuouse, bee not abasshed of that that I saie, nor take the examinacion that I make in a sclaunder: If I take this younge man to be my sonne, to be son in law to Faustine my wife, husbande to my doughter Matrine, brother to Comodus the prince, felowe to theim of the senate, kynseman to my kynsefolke, and lorde of my seruauntes: It is reason, that suche a robe ought well to be regarded, sith that so many persons must weare the liueraie thereof. The garment that so many persons must weare, must bee wisely cutte, to content theim all.

We see naturally many thynges noiful to vs, if it be nere vs, and yet not domageable to vs ferre of. The sonne with his shinyng beames dooeth parche the flesshe of the people of Ethiope, bicause it is nere vnto them: and contrary wise it dooeth no grefe to their persons that inhabite in the ende of Europe: for bycause it toucheth theim a farre of.

There

There haue been diuers sonnes of Rome, whiche beyng in straunge countreies, haue doen great profite to the cõmon weith, and no lesse famed through out the worlde, whiche after that were retourded to their owne houses, haue spilt more bloud of innocentes, than thei had done before of the Barbariens. And that it is soth, demaunde of Julius Cæsar, of Pompeius, of Sylla, of Marius, of Cassius, of Catilina and of Typulus, of Octauius, and Marcus Anthonius, of Caligula, and of Nero, of Othus, and Domicianus.

And as I saie of so small a noumbre of bastarde children, that belde Rome, I maie say of diuers other tyrauntes brought vp in Italy. Beleue me in one thyng. Al that is agreable to vs abide, agreeth not to vs, yf we bryng them in to the house. For there goth many thynges betwene the entreatyng of a man in wordes, and to be long conuersant with him in workes. Litteli neteth humaine ignorance for to begyle an other, and yet lesse to be begiled of many an other. With a meke visage swete woordes in the toungue, good deliberacion in the persone, temperance in the worke euery

one

one maie begile an other nowe a dayes, and by shrewdenesse and malice, is begiled him selfe. I saie to you, I beyng a yonge man knew the famous oratour Taurin propose diuers times in the Senate: And on a daie he spake for a Romain matrone, which should haue maried an honeste doughter of hirs to a maister of horses, by seming a Romain, and not very well appointed: And amonge other wordes he saied: O noble fathers, O happy people command not that thyng, that afterwarde ye wouldo were not commanded. An ill mariage is like as he that shooteth a pellette of duste, it hurteth hym that it toucheth, and blindeth theim that stand nere. Worthy these were hie wordes, and the comparison well vnderstanden, containeth in it sentences of grauitee. It is manifest to all men, that an ill sonne in lawe is the death of the wife that hath him, shame to the friendes that procured it, and at the last an ill end for him selfe, and for his father that offered it. Than by all these thinges that I haue said, ye maie vnderstand, what I thinke in this mariage. This sayynges thus ended, the Senate was greatly edified ther-

therwith, and the knightes hinselfolke to this yong man, greatly abashed: and Faustine the empresse sore confused, for by hir introduction the matter was moued. And how this mariage failed, the historiens write not, whom we haue folowed in this worke.

¶ Howe Marke the emperour fauoured all noble exercises, and hated trewandes and fooles. Cap. xiiii

The vertues of this good emperour, and the knowlage of sciences, the worthines in armes, and the pureness of his lyuynge, caused hym to be named amonge the famous men of Rome. The gentyll conuersacion that he had with euery man, made hym to be renoumed amonge the worthiest of all the worlde. The thyng most agreable without reprehencion of the greatest, meane, and leaste is, that a lorde and prince of many, be communicable and conuersaunt with many. All the good workes of good men maie be con-

demne

demned with the yll intencions of them that be yll: But the good condicions haue such a priuilege, that of yll the good is praised, and the good approueth the yll. In a mans liuyng, there is none so greatte a vice, but by good conuersacion it is couered and hidde. And contrary wise, no crime is secrete, but with ill conuersacion, at the time that it hurteth, it is more openly knowen. Of two extremities it is not so greuouse to the common welthe, a man to be weake and faint in secretnesse, and of gentill conuersacion abrode, as it is of him that is secret and is rude and of yll conuersacion openly. Diuers not beyng of good order and policie, we haue seene conuersant a great whyle in Rome, onely for beyng well condicioned. And many mo we haue seen, that in a short whyle after they were put in office, haue ben so proude and hasty in their condicions, that they haue ben depriued from their offices. And this we saie bycause this good emperor was so ioious of visage, so amiable in his customes, so louyng in his conuersacion, that lyghtly he would caste his armes about the necke and on the shoulders of them, and take them

them by the handes, that had any thing to doe with hym. The porters shoulde not leaue hym that woulde accompany him in the palais: nor his garde was not so hardy to putte a backe suche as woulde speake with him in the fieldes. In all his ages he applied to that that euery age gaue him by nature. He was a chylde amonge children, yong among yonge folke, wordely with them that were wordely, good felow with good felowes, a baronne amonge baronnes, hardy with hardy men: and finally old with old menne. He was wont to saie, whan any in his presence that wer yong and not well taught in they: language, iested at the debilitee of age, or olde men at the foly of youth: Leaue them, syth they leaue you. Manny tymes of wyse yonge men cometh olde fooles. And of younge fooles customably cometh wise olde men. Naturalitte at the laste maketh all thynge in hyude. As of great debilitee we can drawe but small strength, by our naturalitee we may for a tyme resist it, but not vtterly maister it. I am sore abasshed, that some wyll be so lordely and valiaunt in vertues, and so high mynded, and yet

will

wyll make vs beleue, that they lyuyng in the flesshe, and beyng of flesshe, onely fele not the flesshe. I can not tell, if nature hath made other of an other nature than I am of, or me of an other nature than other be. For I beyng neuer so fast inclosed in the swete conuersacion of philosophy yea in the beste tyme, this false flesshe wyll call at the gate with his naughty fleshe.

The more that we reise and exalte vs with science and get libertees, the more lower we do put the flesshe with hir miseries. Beleue me one thyng, that if a tree beareth not in Primetime his flowers, we hope not to haue the frutte in haruest rype: and a yonge man that hath not passed his youth with yonge people, we haue no hope that he should passe his agewith olde men. And as we maie resist our naturalitee, and not cleaue for to do it, so those fathers erre, that ar so extremely affectioned, to haue their children to beginne as olde men. Wherupon it foloweth, that they ende as yonge. This emperour was so wyse in all thynges, that among theim that were mery, he was of great mirthe. And in veritiés he was very veritable.

In

In his pastimes he was greatly temperate, and a louer of musike, specially in good voice and instrumentes, and sore displeased yf he hard any discorde therein. He passed most of his youth in learnyng of sciences. Whan he came to mans estate, he exercised feates of knyghtehode: he loued discipline and hated adulacion. He was apt and happie in armes, but yet in tidyng of horses he hadde oft tymes ill happe. In his younge age he delyted to plaie at the tennys, and at the cheste in his age. He loued not these counterfaityng plaiers of farces and mummeries, and yet lesse freewandes, that been natural fooles, iuglers, and iesters, for pleasure. The plaiers and iesters suffered great varietee in the empire, accordyng to the diuersitee of emperours. Julius Cæsar susteyned theim: Octauian his neuew droue theim away: Caligula called thē agayne, Cruell Nero banished theim, Nerua made theim come agayn, Good Traian banished them out of all Italy. Anthoni Pius brought theim in again: And by the handes of this good emperour Marcus Aurelyus, they ended. And the occasion was, the Romaines

did

did celebrate with great ioye, the. viii. daie of May, the great feast of the mother Berecynte, mother of all the goddes. The sacred priestes flamines dialies, wold haue brought thither these minstrelles tuggiers and iesters, for to reioyce the feast, and contrary wise the holy nunnes vestales would haue done the same. so that variance fell betwene theim, some with force, and some with resistence, and some ranne thither in fauouryng of bothe parties, and not a few, to depart theim. The cruell and great noyse of slaughter among theim, was suche, that it tourned the feast to wepynges, the pleasures into sorowes, and their songes into wailynges.

This good emperour laboured to peace this furie of the people, and to set peace among the neighbours of Rome.

When all was doone, he made curiouse diligence to searche out all the players, tugiers, and iestours of Rome, and in al the circuite of Italy, that they might bee chastised, and Rome deliuered of them. And for example of all the worlde, he sente theim to the gate of Hostie, and commaunded to sette theim in Galeis, and to banisshe them for euer, into the

yles

ples of Hellispont: whiche was accomplished, as the emperour commaunded. And fro that daie was neuer sene at Rome, iuggler or gester, as longe as the emperour liued. But it passed not two yeres after his death, but thei returned, whan his sonne had the rule. And except the bokes do lie, there was in Rome greatter noumbre of fooles than of wise men.

¶ Of the good conuersacion of this emperour Marcus Aurelius. Capi xv.

We haue saied of the hatred that this emperour had to trewandes, reuelers, getters, tuggiers, iesters, and such other: Now will we speake of his laudable exercises of the that came to hym. To be well condicioned, the malice of mankind is so greac that as good men are bounde to regarde the ill, so do thei that be ill, regard to distroie the good. The trace of vertue is as good in good thynges, with theim

that be good, as the vice and dishonesty of euill folkes, is in euill thynges. What greatter corruption in this worlde maie bee, than a vertuous persone, for one worke of vertue, can not find one to helpe hym to worke it, and whan he alone hath wrought it, there commeth tenne thousand to gainesay hym? The grettest goodnes of all goodnes is whan tyrannies are put vnder by vertues acquited: or to finde remedy agaynst accustomed vices, with good inclinacions. And the greattest euil of all euils, is whan a persone forgetteth that he is a man, puttyng reason vnder foote, straunyng his hande against vertue, and leatteth vice rule the bridel. This emperour Mar. Aurel. susteined in his life great glory, in the eschewyng the villany of villaines: no lesse merited he immortal memory, in sufferyng diuers dishonesties in the execucion of his vertues. An vnfallible rule it is, among the children of vanitee, to child the vices of theim that be vicious. And the vertues wel incorporate, nourisshe many enuious. Thei that be ill, been alwaies double ill, bycause thei beare armour defensiue, to defend their own

yuels: and armes offensiue, to assaile the good maners of other. The trouthe is, if good men be diligent to seke other that be good, no lesse ought they for to hyde them from them that be yll: for a good man with one finger, hath power ouer all them that be vertuouse, but for to withstande one yll person, he hath neede of handes feete and frendes. And though fortune be yll to good men, their owne proper fame shalbe spent as of straungiers. This good Emperour was strong in vertue, meke in woordes, attemperate in his exercises, homely with euery man, sad among sad men, hastie among hasty men, merry with merry men, and wise among wyse men, as it is couenable for a curtiouse Prince to be. And whan these are approued in the lawe of good menne, by clere vnderstandyng, as well shall they be condemned by theim that haue yll intencions. Than as the coles can not be in the embres without sparkes, nor corrupcion of the carion without stenche, no more can he that hath a hole and clere hearte be, without enforcyng him to vtter louyng woordes: And he that hath an yll heart, alwaies ouercometh other with

woordes of malice. For it is certein, for a small season the louer may abstrigne his loue: and yet lesse time the paine of hym, that is pained with loue hidde. The sorowfull sighes, shewe the hurte of the hert, and the malicious woordes discouer the yll of the heart. We haue saied all this, because that the bountee of this good emperour Marcus Aurelius, set al his ioie and gladnes in theim that wer good, and bewailed them that wer yll. And as in semblable thynges, the woorthy men shewe their woorthynesse, and wise men their wisdome, beyng vertuous in woorkyng, and wise in knowlageyng, were very wise in dissimulyng. One of the vertues, that a wise man ought to haue (wherin he shall be knowen as wyse) is that he can suffre well. For a man that can suffre well, was neuer but wise and well mannered, and therewith to suffre the vertue of yll businesse, is a thyng reasonable, of all reasonable beastes, and of them that be good, verie good. And by contrary wise, the man that can not well suffre, though it be in very iust thynges, hopeth not to be well treated. And likewise as this Emperour Marcus in all vertues, hath

ben

been egall with all the Emperours of Rome, that haue been, in this vertue of sufferaunce, he hath surmounted all them of the worlde. He was woonte to saie many tymes, I haue not attayned to the Empyre, by the sciences that I haue learned of the philosophiers, but by the pacience, that I haue had with them that wer froward and not lerned. And this seemeth to be true, for oftentimes this emperour: beyng with the Senate at Colisee, or the Senate with him in the high Capitoll, he seeyng in his presence diuers that praised him, and other, that in his absence among the people blamed him, and rebuked him, his attemperance yet was so great, and shewed him selfe so iust with one and other, that neither his freendes, that agreed with him, were sorowfull, nor his ennemies, for any displeasour, went away complaignyng and angrie.

¶ Of the feast that the Romaines kepte to the god Ianus in Rome, and what chaunced to the saide emperour there. Capitulo. xvi.

Among the solempne feastes, that the ancient Romains had inuented, was one of the god Ianus, kepte the firste daie of the yere, whiche as now is the fyrste daie of Ianuer: He was peincted with twq faces, to shewe, that it was the laste daie of the yere passed, and the beginnyng of the newe yere. To this God was dedicate a sumptuous temple in Rome: whiche temple Numa Pompilius, called it the temple of peace. And excepte the temple of Iupiter, it was holden in moste reuerence of all other. Whan the Romain emperour went or came to Rome, to visite the high Capitoll, and the vestall virgins, foorthwith they wente to praie, woorship, and to offer at the temple of Ianus. The daie of celebracion of the saide feaste, all Rome reioiced, and

and put on theim the beste clothes that thei hadde, bi:ennyng great lightes in euery house, and made many plaies of enterludes, of gestes and tugiyng, and watched all night in the temples, and deliuered all the pri:soners that were in pri:son for det, and paied the debtes with the common treasure. Thei had tables with meate before their doo:es, in suche aboundaunce, that mo:e was left than eaten, wherwith all the poo:e folkes in Rome were releued. The Romains thought, that what so euer thei spent that daie, that the god Iano (whiche was god of tymes) wold rewarde them double. The Romains saied, that this god Ianus was not vnkinde no: no ny-garde, for yf thei spente a litteil, he wolde recompence theim with a great deale. At this feast was made great pro:cessions, euery so:t of people by them selfe, the senate went a parte, the pri-estes a parte. The Censo:es aparte, the Plebeines aparte, The matrones and younge maides by theim selfe, and the ambassadours went in pro:cession with all the captiues and pri:soners. Thus thei went euer two and two: the ende of one company, was the beggynyng of

an other, And thus out of the temple Janus thei wente about all the temples of Rome, and so out of Porte latine, into the fieldes, and roundc about the walles of Rome. And bycause the circuite of Rome was great, the processions went but from one gate to an other, so that towarde night, all the processions of Rome had gone euerich one in their company about: And that done thei retourned all into the temple, that thei came out of, and there offered eche one as thei might. And in the saied processions it was of custome, that the emperours wente accompanied with the senatours: But this good emperour was so familier, that he would honour and accompany euery man. It was accustomed in Rome, that the saied daie the emperour shoulde were on his robe, and mantell imperiall. And all prisoners and captiues that might touche him with their hande, were deliuered, and all trespassours wer pardoned, and banisshed folke were forgiuen, and called againe. And this emperour to vse his clemency, and to leaue after him perpetuall memorie, left the procession of senatours, and without any garde,

went

went the procession with prisoners and captiues. The whiche doyng was occasion to leaue behinde him perpetuall memory of him selfe, and great exaumple of clemencie and lowlynesse to the princes for to come. Howe be it there is nothyng so well doen of theim that be good, but forthwith it shall bee contraried of theim that be ill: And therefore this exaumple was so much dispraised of theim that were ill, as praised and allowed of theim that were good. And in likewise as among theim that be good, there is one noted to bee pure good, so among theim that be ill, there is one noted to be right ill. And that worse is, that the vertuous person esteemeth not the glory of his vertue so gret, as the malicious person by his malice is shamed. This is saied, bycause there was a senatour in the senate, named Fuluius, whiche was as blacke by his malice, as white by his heares. He laboured sore in the daies of Adrian to haue been emperour, and had Marcus alwaies as competitour. And as it is a naturall thyng to theim that haue ill heartes, to shew their malice in small thynges, so this emperour dyd neuer no good

good thyng openly, but this Fuluius wouldē grudge thereat secretely. And though this Emperour was greately praised for the deliuryng of prisoners, yet the saied senatour couldē not haue the prudence for to suffre it, and so part in mockery, and part in ernest, he saied these wordes to the emperour in the senate: Why gyuest thou thy selfe to all men?

How Marcus the emperour aunswered a senatour in the senate. Cap. xvii.

THe emperour Marcus Aurelius hearyng what the senatour had saied to hym, in the presence of the senatours, that is to witte, Wherefore he gaue hym to all men, he aunswered. Freende, I geue me to all men, bycause all men gyue theim to me, and are glad of me. Beleue me, that ouer great rigour in a prince causeth hatrede of the people. The goddis will not, nor the lawes permyt not, nor the agrement of the comon weith will not suffre, that princes be lordes ouer many, and to acs

company

company but with a fewe. I haue redde in bokes, and haue proued it by my selfe, that the loue of subiectes, the suertie of the prince, the dignitie of the Empyre, and the honour of the Senate, booe conserue the prince, not with rigour, but with gentle conuersacion. The fisher goeth not to take diuers fysshes of the riuer with one baite, nor the Mariner with one nette entreth into the sea. I promise you the depenesse of good willes ought to be woonne with the depenesse of the hert, some with giftes, some with woordes, some with promises, and some with fauoures. The insaciate coueteous men are neuer content, nor will open their affection, but locke vp theyr treasures. And suche as serueth for loue, are lesse content with openyng of their treasure, than lockyng vp theyr willes. It is an olde prouerbe of Pythagoras: Loue is payed with other loue. O how vnfortune it is to a prince, and howe vnhappie it is to a common weith, whan the people serue not their Lordes, but for rewardes, and the lordes to kepe and maintein theym, but for their seruice. With diuers stoanes and one cyment, buildyng is reised, and of diuers

diuers men, and one lorde, is composed a common welth. And if Geometrie begyle me not, the matter that ioigneth one stone with an other, ought not to be medled with sande and slecked lyme by reason. Separate the stones, and the wall openeth, and leat the ciment faile, and the edifice falleth. He that is wise, may wel vnderstand me. Loue betweene neyghboures suffereth to be mitigate with water: but it is requisite, that the loue of the prince and his people bee pure. Diuers troubles, and at diuers times, I haue seen among the common people of Rome in one daie moued and appeased: but one discorde reised betweene the lorde and the common welth, vnto the death, is neuer accorded. It is a difficile thyng to make appointement of many with many, and more difficile, to accord one with an other. But without comparison, more harder it is, to appoinct diuers with one, than one with diuers. And in this case I will not saue the prince, nor leame the people vncondemned. Fro whence (as ye thinke) cometh it nowe a daies, that lordes with annoiance commaunde vniuste thynges, and in iust thynges the subiectes are vn-

obe-

obedient? Nowe here me, and I shall tell you. The prince doyng a thynge in deede and not of right: will confounde the wyll of euery man, and beleue his owne vnderstandyng, and drawe of hym selfe and all other his onely wyll. Contrariwyse, the multitude of the people disp:aisyng their lordes vnderstandyng, do as they wyl, not as al wil, but as euery man beleeueth him selfe.

¶ Of troth it is a greuouse thyng, although it be greatly accustomed, to will, that all gownes should be mete for one man, and that one mannes harneis should be mete to all men. Than what shall we doe, that our fathers haue left thus in the worlde, and also we holde that we be their children, and that worse is, we leaue the same to our heyres? O how many p:inces of my predecessours haue I red of, that haue been lost in shewyng them selfe ouerstrange, and beloued of none? I wyll tell you of some of them for exaumples, that I haue redde in my bookes, to the intent that p:inces maie see what they winne by amiable conuersacion, and what they lose by ouermuche straungenesse. In the realme of Assiriens, greatter in armes than

than the Caldeens, and lesse in aduaun-
tage and antiquitie than the Assiriens:
One maner forme of kynges endured a-
mong theim two hundred and twentie
yeares, by reason they were of lowable
conuersacion. And a nother fourme and
maner (as Homer saieth) lasted but. vi.
yeres, because their kynges were of an
yll condicion. And the. ix. Epiphanes of
the Egipciens was vnnumbred and put
downe, because there was a lawe, that
eche one should be bare legged in the tē-
ples vpon the holy daies. And this king
on a daie tidyng came before the God
Apis, god of the Egipciens, the whiche
thyng was not suffered, for beside that
he was put oute of this realme, he was
chastised. Also the. vi. Arsacidauel! the
inuincible kyng of Parthes, not one-
ly was depriued, but also banished out
of his realme, because he dined at a
knightes birdale, and would not eate
at the bridale of a communer. Yet also
though the realme of Italy was scant,
their hearties were great: for because
one of their Marranes, for so were
their kynges called, had shutte his gar-
tes by nyght, for to sleepe the suertier,
he was depriued of his realme: because

a lawe

a lawe was made, that no prince should shette his gates night nor daie: for thei saied, thei had made hym kyng for to diruc awaie their enemies, and not to be dayntily nourished. Tarquine the last kyng of the Romains was vnkynde to his father in lawe, diffamed his blod and kynrede, was a traytour to his countrei, cruel of his person, and aduoutrer with Lucrece: but for all that he was not called vngentill, nor infamed, nor traitour, nor cruell, nor aduoutrer, but he was named Tarquin the proude, because he was of ill conditions and complections. And yet by the lawe of good men, I sweare to you, that yf the saied vnhappy Tarquine had had good will in Rome, for the aduoutry of Lucrece he had not be put out of his realme, for as muche as other greatter and more greuous harmes had bene done before his time, and also muche worse sithen by aged emperours in the empire, the whiche crimes by them committed were suche, that the offence of this fraile yonge man was but small in estimacion. For kyng certayne these princes holde, that if thei gyue diuers occasions for their ill will, yet a litteli

thyng

thyng sufficeth if he shew, that the hate that he hath is for none ill will: but the hate that the subiect hath to the lorde, because he hath no power.

¶ Iulius Cæsar, the last dictatour and first emperour, because he forgat to be a man among men, but thinkyng to be a god among gods, beyng a laudable custome, that the senate shoulde salute the emperour on their knees, and the emperour to rise curteisly against theim: bicause of a presumptuous mind, he wold not kepe the ceremonie, he merited to lese his life with .xxiii. strokes of penknyues. And as I sate of these so few a numbre, I maie sate of many other. The phisicions with a litteil Rubarbe purge many humours of the body, and the emperour with a litteil beneuolence taketh many greues fro the stomackes of his subiectes. The people owe obedience to the prince, and to doe his person great reuerence, and fulfill his commaundementes, and the prince oweth egal iustice to euery man, and meke conuersacion to all men.

¶ Marcus Portius saied diuers times in Rome: That the publike welthe is there perpetuall and without any so-

daine

daine fall, where the prince fyndeth obedience, and all the people fyndeth loue with the prince. For of the loue of the lord, bredeth the good obedience of the subiecte, and of the obedience of the subiect, bredeth the good loue of the lorde. The emperour of Rome is like to a spyder, that is in the myddes of hir webbe. For if the saied copwebbe be touched with the poinct of a nedell, forthwith the spider feleth it. I meane that all the workes of the emperour in Rome ben streyght wate knowen in all the earth. I beleue that this daie I haue ben iudged of humain malice, for accompanyng the processiõ of the captiues, and that I suffered them to touche me, that they might enioy the priuiledge of libertee. I yelde and geue great graces to my goddes of my good happe, because thei haue made me pitifull for to delyuer prisoners, and not cruell as a tyraunte for to make theim bonde that be free. The prouerbe saith: One snare maie take two byrdes: So it hath ben this daie, for that benefite rebounded onely to the miserable prisoners, but the sauour, to all their nacions. And doot ye not know, that by

the takyng away of their p:ions. I haue drawen to me the heartes of all their realmes and countreis: Finally it is more sure to a p:ince to be serued with free heartes, and loue of them that be at libertee, than of subiectes constrained with feare.

¶ How the emperour Marcus deuided the howres of the daie for the busynesses of the empire. Ca. xviii.

Ere before we haue shewed how this good emperour had great hatredc of men that wer of yl liuing, and that passed their time in ill exercise. It sufficeth not the philosopher to reprouc & vice of other by wordes, but it is necessary that he doe the workes that he requireth of ther to do. It is reasō now to shew how this emperour by his gret prudence cōpassed and dispatched the greatte and huge busynesses of the empire, the particularitees of his household, the recreacion of his persone, the exercyse of his studies, the infinite reasonyng with one an other, with suche peine takyng, and

in

in so short tyme. He was so apte and wel aduised, that by him there was no time yll spent. Nor neuer failed to dispatche the busynesse of the empyre.
And because the tyme is gloriouse of hym that gloriousely spendeth it, and the tyme is accurced, that to our domage and without profite to other passeth, leauyng vs ignorant as b ute beastes: He departed the tyme by tymes, the order wherof was thus. Seuen houres he slept in the night, and rested one houre in the date: At dinre and supper he wasted but onely two howres: he deputed two howres for the mattiers of Asie: Other two howres for the buisynes of Europe and Affrike: and in conuersacion of his house, and with his wyfe and children, seruantes and trendes that came to se hym, he spent other two howres: And for the outwarde busynes, as to here the complaintes of of them that were greued. The suites of pore men wantyng iustice, to widowes, the robberies and pyckers, of mychers, and vacaboundes, he deputed an other houre. All the rest of the date and night readyng of bookes, to wryte workes, to make meters, to study antiquities: to

practise with wise menne, to dispute among Philosophers, he passed thus ordinately in winter: And in sommer if cruell warres leatted him not, or that he were troubled with great and heynouse matters. he wente euer to bed at ix. of the clocke, and awoke at. iiii. It was of custome, that Emperours had euer lyghtes brennyng in their chaumber. And therfore when he awoke, because he would not be ydle, he had euer a booke at his beddes hed. And thus in readyng he spent the rest of the night, tyll it was day. He arose at. vi. of the clocke, and made him ready openly, not angrely, but merelie: he wold demaund of theim that wer present, how they had spent all the night time. And there he would reherse what he had red that nighte. Whan he was readie, he would washe his handes with very well smellyng waters: for he was a great louer of all swete odours. He had a good and a quicke smellyng. Than in the mornyng before euery man, he would take iii. or. iiii. morselles of electuarie of sticados, and two draughtes of Aqua vite. After that in sommer he would goe foorthwith a foote to the riuer side, and

there

there passe the tyme the space of twoo howres. And assoone as the heat came, he would go to the high Capitoll to the Senate. That doen he went to the colledge, where as all the procurours and ambassadours of all Prouinces were, and there he wold be a great part of the daie, and heare euery nacion by it selfe, accordyng to the tyme that was deputed by order. And toward the euenyng, he would goe to the Temple of the virgins Uestales. He eate but ones a daie, and that was somewhat late, and than he wold make a good meale, and but of fewe meates. He had a custome euery weeke in Rome, or other cities, where as he was, that two daies late in the euenyng he would walke in the streetes without his garde or knightes, onely with. x. or. xii. pages, to see if any person woulde speake with him, or complayne of any officer of his courte and house, and this he caused to be demaunded of other men. This good emperour would oftentimes say: A good prince that wyll rule and gouerne wel, and not to be a tyraunt, ought to do thus: That is, that he be not couetous of tributes, nor prowde in his commaundementes,

nor vnkind to seruices, nor bolde in the temples, nor deie to here complaintes. In fulfillyng hereof he shall haue the goddes in his handes, and the hearties of men shall be his. All the while that this Marke was emperour, he had neuer porter at his chambre dore, but if it were the two hornes that he was with Faustyne his wyfe. This good emperour had in his house a secret closet locked with a key that he bare hym selfe, and neuer trusted none other therwith to the houre of his death. And than he commanded to deliuer it to Pompeiano, a prudent auncient baron that was maried to his doughter. In the whiche closet he had diuers bookes writte in all languages, as Greke, Hebrew, Latine, and Caldee, and other antike histories.

¶ The answere of Marke the emperour, whan Faustine his wyfe demaunded the key of his study. Cap. xix.

AS it is naturall to women to dispise that thing that is giuen them vnasked, so it is deth to theym to be denaied of that they do demaunde. This emperour had the study or closet of

of his house in the most secrete place of his palais, wherin he neither suffered his wife, seruaunt, nor frend to enter.
On a day it chaunced, that Faustyne the empriesse desired importunately to see that study, saiyng these wordes.
My lorde, leat me se your secrete chambre. Beholde I am great with chylde, and shall dye, yf I see it not. And ye knowe well, that the lawe of the Romains is, that nothyng shall be denied to women with chylde, of that they desire. And if ye do otherwise, ye do it in dede but not of right.
For I shall die with the child in my bodie. And more ouer I thinke in my mid, that ye haue some other louer within your study. Therfore to put away the perill of my trauailyng, and to assure my heart from Ielousely, it is no great thyng to leat me entre into your studie.
The emperour, seeyng that Faustines wordes were of trouth, and bycause he sawe hir wordes washed with weppyng, aunswered hir on this wise: It is a thyng certaine, whan one is contented, he saieth more with his toungue, than he thynketh with his heart. And contrary wise, whan one is heuy, the eyen

wepe not so muche, nor the tounge can not declare that is locked in the heart. Vaine men with vaine wordes shewe and declare their vaine pleasures: And the wise men with prudent woordes, dissemble their cruell passions. Among wise men he is wisest, that knoweth muche, and sheweth to knowe but litle: And among the simple, he is most simple, that knoweth but litell, and sheweth hymselfe to knowe muche. Thei that are prudent, though thei are demaunded, say nothyng: but simple folke will speake ynough without askyng of any question. This I say Faustine, because thy wepyng hath so hurt me: and thy vaine speche so tourmented me, that I can not declare that I fele, nor thou canst not fele that that I say. Diuerse aduertisementes haue thei writen, that haue written of mariage, yet haue thei not written, howe many trauailes that one woman causeth hir husbande to suffer in one day. Of a suretie, it is a ioyfull thyng to reioyce in the childhode of children, but it is a right cruel thyng to suffre the importunities of their mothers. The children do now and then a thyng that turneth vs to plesure

sare, but ye women do nothyng but geue vs displeasure. I shall agree with all maried men to pardon their children pleasures, for the annoyaunce that the mothers geue to them. One thyng I haue seen the which neuer beguiled me, that the iuste goddes do giue to the vniuste men, that all the euyls that thei do in this worlde, shalbe remitted to the furies of the other worlde: But if thei do commit any sinne for the pleasure of any woman, the goddes commaunde, that by the handes of the same woman, we shall receyue paine in this worlde, and not in the other. There is not so fierce or perillous an enemy to a man, as is his wife. And though a man can not lyue with hir as a man. I neuer sawe none so light, being with a vicious woman in doyng vice, but that by the same woman at the laste he receiued shame and chastisement: Of one thyng I am sure, and I sate it not because I haue seen it, but experimented in my self, that though the husband do al that his wife will, yet will she doe nothyng that hir husbande wolde haue done. Great cruelitee is among the Barbarians to hold their wyues as seruaues: And no lesse madnesse

madnes is it of Romains, to kepe them as ladies. Fleshe ought not to bee so leane, that it abhorre: nor so fatte that it cloie the stomache: but meane and enterlarded, to the ende that it be sauory: I saie that a wise man can not geue so strong a bridel to his wife, that she wil obey as an hand mayden: nor geue hir so litteli of the bridell, but she will exalte hir selfe as maistresse and ruler.

Beholde Faustine howe ye women are so extreme in all heedlong extremitees, that with a litteli fauour ye will exalt, augment, and grow into great pride: and with a litteli displauour, ye recouer great hatred. There is no perfite loue, where is no egalitee betwene the louers. And as ye and other are vnperfite, so is your loue vnperfite. I wot wel ye vnderstand me not. Therefore vnderstand Faustin, that I saie more than ye wene. There is no woman, that with hir will wolde suffre any greatter than hir selfe: nor to be content to haue an other egall with hir. For though she haue a. M. li. rent, yet she hath. x. M. folies in hir heade. And that worse is, though it chaunce hir husbande to die, and she lese all hir rent, yet endeth not hir foolishnes. Ne-

leu

ken to me, and I shall tell to you more. All women wolde speake, and haue all other to be still: they would gouerne, and be gouerned of none other. One thyng they desyre, that is to see, and to be sene. And suche as be light in folowing their lyghtnes, they hold as their subiectes and sclaues, and suche as be wyse, and represse their appetites, they pursue as ennemies. In the annales Pompeiens, I haue found a thyng worthy for to be knowen, and that is: whan Once Pompeie passed into the orient on the mountaines Riffees, he founde a maner of people, called Massageres, whiche had a lawe, that euery inhabitaunt or dweller shoulde haue two tonnes, or fattes, because there was lacke of howses in the saide mountaines: In one was the housbande, the sonnes and men seruantes: and in the other the wyfe the doughters and maydens.

¶ On the holy daies they dyd eate together, and ones in the weke they lay together. Whan great Pompey had questioned the cause of their liuyng in that maner, for that he neuer saw nor knewe a more extreme thyng in all the worlde, One of theim answered: Pompey

pese beholde, the goddes haue genen vs but a short life, for none of vs may liue aboue. lx. yeare at the moste, and those yeares we trauaile to liue in peace.
And in hauyng our wiues with vs still in compainie, we shoulde liue euer diyng, for we shoulde passe the nightes in hearyng their cōplayntes and the daies in sufferyng their brawlinges and chydynges. In kepyng theym this wyse from vs a parte, they nourish their children more peasiblie, eschewyng the noises that sleeth the fathers.
¶ I tell thee Faustine, that though we call the Masagetes barbariens, in this case they be wyser than the Romaynes. One thyng I will tel you Faustine, and I praie you marke it well. If the beastly mouyng of the fleshe enforced not the will of man to do his lust, and that he wold not desire women, I doubt whether women would suffre it or loue it the lesse. Of trouth if the Goddes had made this loue voluntarie, as it is naturall, that is, as we would we might, and not as we wold and may not: with great peine a man mighte be satisfied, though he should lose him selfe for any womon. It is a great secrete of the goddes,

des, and a great misery to man, that the faynte and weake flesshe doeth force the hert, whiche shoulde be free, to loue that it abhorreth, and to alowe that that domageth. This is a great secrete, that men can fele it euery houre as men: and yet by discrecion maie not remedie it. I enuie not the liuyng goddes, nor the men that be dead, but for two thynges, and they been these: The Goddes liue without feare of theim that be malicious, and they that be dead are in peace without nede of women. The ayre is so corrupte, that it corrupteth euery man with two pestilet plages so deadly, that the flesh and the heart endeth. O Faustine, is the loue of the flesh so naturall that whan the flesshe fleeth scornefully, we should leaue the true heart as captiue? And the reason as reason put her to flight, the flesh as flesh foorthwith yeldeth her to you as ouercome.

¶ The Emperour reherseth the perilles of them that haunt women excessiuely. Cap. xi.

THe emperour folowyng his purpose declareth the vniuersall domages, that come to man by ouer muche

muche conuersacion and hauntyng of women. And after he had tolde some particular cases that he had suffered with Faustin his wife, he saied: I am well remembred, that in my yonge age I folowed the flesshe to muche, with purpose neuer to returne. And therfore I confesse, that yt I had good desires in one daie in stede therof, a. C. daies I wrought yll. Mistresion, that ye women flee from them that flee from you: to hyde you from them that hide them fro you, to leue them that leaue you, to separate you fro them that separate them fro you: to forgette them that forget you. For some scape fro your handes yl famed and effeminate: and other are hurt with your tonges, many ben persecuted with your workes, and the better to scape free, they come away abhorred of your hertes, and bounde to your lightnesses. Than who that seeketh this, what getteth he by the attaynyng therof? O to howe many perilles offereth he him selfe, that with women is greatly conuersant: yf a man loue them not, they counte hym as a vyllaine: yf he loue them, they thynke hym lyght: yf he leaue them, they repute him for a

coward:

cowarde: if he folow them, he is lofte: if he ſerue theim, he is not regarded: if he ſerue theim not, he ſhall be hated of them: if he will haue theim, thei will not haue hym: if he deſyre theim not, thei will ſcke on him: if he haunt theim, he is ill namcd: if he haunt theim not, thei teeben hym no man. What ſhall the vnhappy man doe? Leat men take this for certain, that though the houſband do for his wife all that he can do as a man, and that he ought to doe as a huſbande, and with his weakeneſſe doe the beſte that he can, for to fynde remedy againſt pouertie with his trauaile, and put him ſelfe in daungier for hir euery houre: all this ſhall not pleaſe his wife, nor make hir the better, but ſhe will ſaie, that the traitour loueth other, and that all that he dooeth, is onely to accompliſſhe his pleaſure on them.
Many daies ago Fauſtine, I haue willed to tell the this, but I haue differred it till now, hopyng that thou wolde ſt giue me occaſion to tell it the: the whiche longe agone thou haſte cauſed me to feele. It is no point of wiſe men, that for euery tyme they are annoyed with their wiues, forthwith to hurte theim

with wordes. For amonge wise men the saied wordes ar most estemed, when they are well appropried and saied to good purpose. I do bethynke me, that it is. vi. yere sith Anthony Pie thy father did chose me to his sonne in lawe, and thou me to be thy housband, and I the for my wife: this my fatall destinie did permitte, at the commaundemente of Adrian my lord. My father in lawe gaue the his faire doughter to me for wife, and the very sad and ponderouse empire in mariage. I trowe we were all begyled: He to take me for his son, and I to choose the for my wife.

He was named Anthony Pius, because he was pitifull of all thynges, saue vnto me, to whom he was cruell, for in a littell fleshe he gane me many bones: and to saie the trouth, I haue no tethe to gnawe it, nor no heat in my stomacke to dygest it: and many times I haue thought my selfe loste with it.

For thy beautie thou were desired of many, but for thyne euill condicions thou were abhorred of all.

O how vnhappy ben thy destinies Faustine, and howe yuell haue the goddes prouided for the. Thei haue geuen the

beautie

beautie and richesse for to vndoo the. And thei haue denyed and refused to thee the beste, that is good condicions, qualitee and wisedome to mainteine theim. I say to the again, that the goddes haue been verey cruell to the, sythe they adicted the to the whyrlepoole, where as all ill folke perisshe, and haue taken from the, the sayles and aores, wherby all good folke escape.

¶ The. xxxviii. yeres that I was without a wife, seemed not to me. xxxviii. daies: and the. vi. yeres that I haue ben maried, seeme to me. vi. hundred yeres. I will assure the one thyng, that yf I had knowen before, that I knowe nowe, and had felt than, that I feele at this howre, I wold say an other thyng. And though the goddes wold cõmaund me, and Adrian my maister woide commaunde me, I woulde not chaunge my pouertee and quietnes, for the mariage of the and the empire. But I haue desyred the in thy good fortune, and my selfe to myne yll fortune. I haue failed but a lyttell, and haue suffered a great deale: I haue feined a great while, but I can feine no longer. No man suffereth his wife so muche, but he is bound

to suffre more. Lette a man, that is a man consyder, and likewise a woman that is a woman consyder, what boldenes she is of, that quarelleth with hir housbande, and that he is a foole that brawleth openly with his wife. For if she be good, he ought to fauer hir, that she may be the better: if she be a shrew, he muste suffre hir, that she ware not worse. Euery man knoweth that all thynges suffereth chastisemente saue a woman, whiche (as a woman) will be desired and praied. Faustine beleue me, if feare of the goddes, the shame of hir persone, and speach of the people, with drawe not a woman from euyll, all the chastisement of the worlde will not ouercome hir. The hert of man is very noble, and the heart of a woman is daynties, and will haue great hyre for a litle goodnes, and for much euyll no chastysement. A wise man will knowe what he hath to do or he marry. Than if he determine hym to take the company of a wife, he ought to enlarge his hert to receiue all that male come with hir. It is but a small witte in a man to set by the small fantasies of his wife, or for to chastice openly that male be righted

betwene

betweene theym secretly. He that is wise and will liue quietly with his wife, ought to kepe this rule: admonisshe hir often, and reproue hir but seldome, and laie no handes on hir. For by other menes he geatteth not fidelitee on hyr, nor good entreatyng of hyr, nor good bringyng vp of theyr children, nor seruice to the goddes, nor any hope of profite of hyr. And thus Faustyne I wyll saie no more to the, but that thou consyder, that I do consider, and knowe that I do se, and that my sufferance vnknowen to the, maie suffice to amendg thy lyfe.

¶ The emperours answer to Faustin, for that she said, she was with childe. Cap. xxi

NOwe that I haue opened and putte out the olde venim, I wyl answere to thy present question or demand. To the entente that medycines maie profite theym that be sicke, it is necessary to dispoile the opilacions and leattes of the stomake: Likewyse none can counsaill his

frend conueniently, but if he shew first his grefe. Thou demaundest of me the key of my study, and thou thretnest me, that if I geue it the not, thou shalt be lost and hurt with thy fruite: ye women with childe haue a good hostage or pledge, for vnder colour of trauailyng before your time, ye wold haue vs fulfil all your fond appetites. whan the holy senate in the vnhappy time made a law in fauour of Romayn matrones, they were not so desirous. Nowe I wote not how it is, but ye all are anoyed and wery of all goodnes. And all ye in all yll desyrous and couetous. As farre as I can remembre, whan Camill made his vow to Cybill the mother of goddes to sende hym victory in a battaile, whan he had won the victory, Rome was so poore, that it had neither golde nor siluer for to make the statute of promesse, the matrones than beyng, seyng that their housbandes dyd offer theyr lynes in the said warre, they granted to present their iewels to the holy senate. It was a meruailous thyng to see, that without any speakyng to them, or without any mans inticement they determined all together to goe to

the

the high capitoll, and there in the pre-
sence of euery man presented they: ow-
ches hangyng at their eares, The ryn-
ges of their fingers, the braceletes of
they: armes, the perles from their at-
tires of their heades, the collers from
their neckes, The brooches of their bre-
stes, the girdels about their middels,
and borders of they: gownes. And
though that they: gift was esteemed to
a great valu, yet they: good willes was
esteemed a great deale more. The riches
that they offered there was so great, that
there was not all onely ynough to per-
forme the vowe of the Senate, but also
to pursew the warre. And as than
the custome of Rome was, that none
did theim any pleasure but he was short-
ly recompenced: the same day that the
matrones did offre their riche and faire
iewelles in the capitoll, ther was grant-
ed vnto theym fyue maner of thynges
in the Senate: The first, that at they:
deathes the oratours should preach, pu-
blishe, and shew their good liuyng: The
secound, that they should sit in the tem-
ple, where as before they were wont to
stande: The thyrde, that they should
were furred and lyned gounes, where

as before they ware none but single: The fourth, that in their diseases they myght drinke wine, where as before on their liues they durst drinke none but water: The .v. that the Matrones of Rome great with childe, shoulde not be refused of any thyng that they desyred. These true thynges for certaine were fully and wyllyngly graunted by the Senate. And why this lawe that commaundeth to denay nothyng to a woman with childe was made, I wyll tell the the occasion that moued the senate so to do, Fuluius Torquate beyng cõsull in the warre agaynst the Volsces, the knyghtes of Mauritayne brought to Rome a wylde man, that had but one eye, that they had taken in huntyng in the deserres of Egypt. And the matrones of Rome were at this tyme as sad and honest, as they be nowe bolde and light. So was the wyfe of the said Torquate, that was nigh the tyme of hyr deliuerance, great with childe, of trouth a woman so honest, that for the sobre solitarines that she kept in Rome she had no lesse glory than had hir husbande in the warres for his worthines, the which was well proued. For in the

xiiii.

xiiii. yere that Torquate hir housband was in Asie a warre fare, the first tyme that he went thither, she was neuer sene at the wyndowe lokyng out, and shee was not al onely regarded for that, but in all the saied. xiiii. yeres neuer man childe nor man aboue the aege of. viii. yeres came within hir gates. And not content with this, that she did to giue example to all Rome, and to attein perpetuall memorie, where as she had left with hir three sonnes, the eldeste of whom was but three yeres of age: and as sone as thei came to viii. yere, she sent them out of hir hous to their grandfathers. And thus did this excellent Romain lady, to thentent that vnder color of hir own children there should none other yong children enter into hir house. Those yeres passed, after that the good olde man Torquate was retourned fro the warres of the Volsces, the said wild man with one eye went by the doore of the saied Torquate, and one of hir maidens tolde hir, that it was a meruailous thyng to se: and the good lady had great desyre to see hym, and bycause there was none to bryngе hym to hir, that she might see him, she died for sor-

lowe. And for certaine though he came often inough by hir doore, yet she would neuer goe nor looke out at hir wyndowe to se hym. Hir death was greatly bewayled in Rome, for she was in Rome most derely beloued, and good reason: for many daies afore was no suche woman brought vp in Rome. And by the commaundement of the senate, the tenour of this writyng in verses were set vpon hir sepulchre.

¶ Here lieth the glorious matron wife of Torquate, that would aduenture hir lyfe to assure hir good fame.

¶ Behold Faustine, this lawe was not made to remedy the deathe of this matron, but to thend that to such as ye be, and to al the world it shulde be a perpetual example of hir life, and memory of hir death: It was well done to ordein that lawe for an honest woman beyng with child, that it shulde be kept to all vertuous women. And as women wold that the law of them that be with child should be kept, so by the same lawe it is requisite to require that they be honest, In the.xii. table of the lawe it is saied: We commaund, that where there is corruption of customes, there liberties shal not be kept.

¶ How

¶ Howe tydynges was brought to the emperour, that the Mauritaine wolde conquere great Bry-tayne. Cap. xxii.

N the. iiiii. yere of Marcus the emperours age, and the tenth yere of his election to thempire, In the moneth of July, as he was in the citee of Naples, and not in verie perfite health, for he was sore payned with the gout in his foote: there came a Centurion in maner of a messanger with great hast, saiyng that in grete Britayne was sodeinly arriued a great nauy of warre, to the numbre of C. and. xxx. ships of the realm of Mauritain, and the quantitee of. xx. M. men of foote, and. ii. M. men of armes: and that the kynge of Mauritaines brother was their capitain, named Asclipio, the whiche had taken lande at a hauen of the yle called Arpine, and that to resist so great a power, there were but a fewe people in the saied yle. The good emperour heryng these tidynges, though he felt it inwardely as a man, yet he fay-

ned

ned it outwardly as a discreet man with a sadde countenaunce, and made fewe woordes. Than seeyng that busyneſſe might not be delaied, he saied these woordes: I will goe with a few people, and do what I can. For better it were with a fewe to goe betymes, than to tary for many and gooe to late. And forthwith the good Emperour pourueyed, that all thei of his palais, shoulde depart to go to Britaine, and none to tary behynde, to do hym seruice. The custome was, that the emperours shulde haue alway in their houses such men as were mete to be sent forth in any busyneſſes that shuld happen for warre. And after that thei were shypped, there aryued one of Britaine, that shewed, how the Mauritains were retourned, so that none of theim was left in the yle. Than this empero: kept his house in a good point. Litteli occasion suffiseth to theim that be naturally of ill inclinacion, to depart and spiede thorough countreis to booe harme: therefore he sent theim of his house to the entent, that by occasion of the warre, thei shoulde not leade an yll lyfe. Than the emperour fearyng the dissolucion of his courte, and boldenesse

of

of his officers, to the entent thei shuld not leaue vertue and growe in vice, he determined on a day to call them to him secretly, and to say these wordes to thē.

¶ What the emperour saied to theim of his court in eschewyng ydelnesse Cap. xxiii.

The greteste signe in a vertuouse man is to do vertuous woorkes, and vertuously to spend and occupy his time: and the greatteste signe of a losse man is to leese his tyme in naughty woorkes. The greteste happe of all, and the greatteste desire of men is to liue longe. For diuers chaunces that fall in short time may be suffered and remedied by longe space. Plato saied: A man that passeth his life without profite, as one vnworthy to lyue, ought to haue the reste of his lyfe taken from him. The filth of secret chaumbers, the stenche of the pumpe in shippes, nor the ordures of cittes do not corrupt the ayre so muche, as ydell folke do the people. And as there is in a man, that occupy-

cupieth his tyme well, no vertue but it encreaseth: so in hym, that occupieth his time yll, there is no villanie but it is suspect in him. A man that is alway well occupied, ought euer to be reputed as good: and the yll man without further inquiry ought to be condemned as nought. Shew me now, I desyre you, what doth nourysshe the corrupte and foule wiedes, the nettelles that stynge, and the briers that pricke, but the earth that is vntilled, and waren wylde, and the fieldes ful of thistels, which is not wieded, and visited with the plough?

¶ O Rome without Rome, that nowe as vnhappy hast but only the name of Rome, because thou art so dere in vertues, and makest vices good chepe.

Yea yea, and I shall tell the, knowest thou wherfore thou art so? bycause thou hast vnpeopled the lanes and strees of workemen and officers, and hast peopled it all about with infinite vacaboundes. I know for trouth, that the Samytes, Uosigoths, Astrogoths, and Peniens spredde in your territories, do you not so muche domage, as doe these ydell and lost people suffered in euery shoppe. All writers can not denay me,

yf all nations would conquerre Rome, they could not can not take away one loope of the walles of it: and these yuel people haue troden and pulled vnder their feete the good renoume of it. An infallible rule it is: a man geuen to exercises is vertuous, and one geuen to to ieu trynges is a vicious person. What a diuine thing was it to se the diuine workes of our predecessours, the which syth Tullius Hostilius, vnto Quintus Cincinatus dictatour, and syth Cincinatus vnto Cyncinos, which were of the Silians and Marians, there was neuer Consull at Rome, but he coude do some maner of office or occupacion, wherwith they wer occupied whan their office in the senate was ended. Some coulde paint pictures or other fiat workes. Other could graue images and portry in wood or earth, or other thynges, or coulde woorke in siluer, and other metales: and other red in schooles. In suche wyse that the holy senate myght chose none, but if he were fyrst knowen in some maner handy craft. I do finde in the annales all that is aboue saide: and if I lye, I do giue me to the flames of Vulcan. And there was an auncient

lawe,

lawe, that a miller, a smith, a baker, or a poynt maker, myght not be a Senatour, because men of the said occupacions were commonly taken with deceytes and gyles. Than regarde the maner and change of time, and the corruption of customes, that. CCC. yeres euery man trauailed for the renowme of Rome, and this. viii. C. yeres euery man sleepeth to the sclaunder of Rome. Other thynges I fynde in the laide annales worthy of eterne memorie, the people of Rome hauyng. iiii. perilous warres together (yong Scipio agaynst the Penens. Mucio agaynst the Capens, Metellus agaynst Alexander of Macedonie, and an other Metellus his brother agaist the Celtiberers of Spain) the lawe beyng so sore kepte, that none shoulde be taken from the misterie and office that he occupied, and the senatours hauyng extreme necessitee of messengers to sende to the warres, whan the senatours had gon thre daies about with the Censors of Rome, they could not fynde one ydell man to be sent forth with their letters. I wepe for ioye, that I haue of this antique felicitee: and I mourne for compassion of the miserie

now

now beyng. It is a confusion to say, but I will saie it: Twenty yeres ß had office in the senate, and it is. x. yeres sith I haue ruled the empire, whiche is xxx. in al, In the which season I swere by the goddes immortall, I haue caused to whippe, caste in welles, to bury quicke, to hange, to pricke, and to banishe mo than. xxx. M. vacaboundes, and. x. M. ydell women. Than what difference is ther betwene that life and this death, that glory aud this paine, that golde and this ordure, that antike Romain worke and this our present inuentife ydelnes of Rome?

¶ In the lawes of the Lacedemoniens this was written in the table of the idel people: We commaund as kynges, we pray as seruauntes, we teache as phylosophers, and admonishe as fathers, that the fathers shall first teache their children to labour the fieldes, where by trauail thei may liue, and not brought vp in places, where by idelnes thei may be loste. And that lawe saith ferthermore: ß that yonge people obey not as yonge, we will that the aged people do correct and punishe theim as aged. And in case that the fathers be negligent to

com-

commaunde them, or that thei be disobedient: We commande the prince thau to be diligent to chastise them.

¶ Certainly these wordes are worthy to be noted: whereby Lycurge the kyng destruct eternall memory for his person, and the said realm perpetual peace in the common welth. O Rome, what dost thou? why regardest thou not these lawes of the Lacedemonians, whiche with their frendly customes, doth mock thy brutall vices? Slepest or wakest? O Rome thou wakest al the world to leaue swete trauailes, and slepest in vniuste idelnesse. Thou art sure of enemies, and thou carriesse art drowned in slouth and idelnesse. Than sithe that thei that been farre of, doe waken the, thou oughtest to awaken theim that thou kepest with the. I wouldespeake to all theim together of my palais, and longe agoe I wylled so to doue, but the multitude of straunge businesses somtime causeth a man to forgeat his own.

¶ Of

Of the perilouse liuyng of theim that haunte the court contynually. Cap. xxiiii.

THan the emperour ioyned these wordes to that he had said. Many thinges I haue seen, and of credible persons I haue herd, whiche me semed to be ill, and none of them good. Specially one, with offendeth the goddes, sclaundereth the worlde, peruerteth the common wealth, and endomageth the person selfe: which is this cursed slouth and ydelnesse, that distroieth them that be good, and vtterly bringeth to naught theim that be yll. Somtime secretely, and halfe as in sporte openly I haue admonished and rebuked some of you, but I se it profite none of you. On one side the pryche of reson constraineth me to chastise you: agayn consyderyng the malice of mankynd, although that it be prompt to yll, sometime I am determined to suffre you. Many tymes I would with fury chastise you as children, but I do refraine it, Consideryng that ye are yonge, and as yet know not the wyles of the worlde: for ther holde so nyely togither the yll with the yll,

and among them make so great a leage of vices with the vices, that there bee many that do begile, suffre them selfe to be begiled. and that whan we escape fro a littell wile, and knowe the begiler, we thincke that we are begiled all ready with other great wiles. I haue meruailous gret compassion of you my seruauntes, speakyng to you as a lorde: and to you my children, speakyng as a father for to see you all the daie & night wandryng through Rome as loste persons: and that worste of all is. I perceiue, that ye do not perceiue your owne pardicion. What greatter beastlinesse can there be, than to se you wander like fooles from house to house, fro tauerne to tauerne, from one gasing to another, fro strete to strete, fro place to place, fro play to play, fro reuellers to reuellers? And that more is, that ye knowe not, what ye desyre, nor what ye woulde, where ye go, nor whens ye come, what pleaseth you, or what displeaseth you: what is profitable or losse vnto you.

Nor ye remembre not, that ye wer born reasonable men, and that ye lyue as wildefolke among men, and after shall die as brute beastes. Fro whenswene ye

that

that this cometh? The cause is the desyre of beastly mouynges, not resistyng the desires of the luste of youth, and aboue al not appliyng yonr myndes and wyttes to be well occupied. Take hede amonge you of my courte, and forget not this. Haue ye no thought but to seke newe pastimes, and to borow euery day? No man, of what condicion so euer he be, except he haunt feates of armes, or other learnyng in some ordinary exercise, shall haue his body lustie and his spirite quicke: but shall be acloyed in all other thynges, and wander from strete to strete, as a vacabounde. The heart of man is noble, and hath power continually for all actes, and all pastymes of the body, and yet in three dales it is annoied of him selfe alone, so that with him can not rest one laudable exercyse. Lyke as I am emperour of all the worlde, so it is reason, and must nedes be, that I haue folke of all nacions in my palais. And suche as the prince is, suche shalbe his householde: and as his house is, so shall his courte be: and as the court is, so shall the hole empyre be. For this cause a kynge ought to be right honeste: his house well ordered

and ruled, his officers well learned, and his court well kepte in awe. Of my good lyfe dependeth their good liues, and consequently the yll lyues. Euery nacion lerneth in their perticular scholes. The Siriens, in Babylon: the Persians in Dorkes: the Indiēs in Olimpe: the Caldees in Thebes: the Grekes in Athenes: the Hebrewes in Delie: the Latines in Samie: the Frenche men in Orliaunce: the Spaniardes in Gades: and they all togither in Rome. The vniuersall schoole of all the worlde is the person, the house, and court of aprince. As we emperours do say, the same wyll our subiectes saie: as we do, they wyll doe: that we forsake they wyll leaue: yf we lese our selues, they wyll lose theym selues: yf we wyn, they wyll wynne, and finally our wealth, is their welth: and our harme, is theyr harme. Truely the prince is bounde to kepe his owne person honestly and well besene, his house and court so well ruled, that all they that shall se it, maie haue desire to folow and do therafter: and that all they, that here therof, may desyre to se it. Take ye hede, and let vs take hede: Haue ye in mynde, and leat vs haue in mind:

mynd: that they, whiche be of straunge landes, goyng through straunge landes into strange landes, by their great trauailes commyng to haue and demaund socour and remedy of vs, may haue no cause to report any sclaunders of our yll customes. What thyng more monstruous can be noysed amonge men, than that they should come and complayne of the theues of their countreies, to the theues of my courte? What greatter shame and inconuenience can be, than to demaund iustice of their mensieers, of the mankyllers of my court & house? What cruelitee were so cruel, as to complaine of the vacabounides of their landes, to the slouthfull and ydell folke of my house? What thyng can be more shamefull, than to come to accuse theim that haue saied yll of emperours, before theim that euery daie blaspheme the goddes? What thyng can be more inhumaine, than to come to aske iustice on hym that hath transgressed but ones, of theym that neuer dyd good workes? Truely in suche case the pore men should retourn with their ignoraunce begyled, and we should tary with our cruell malice shamed of men, and culpable before

god. O how many small matters doe we chastice in men of small reputacion. which without breakyng of Iustice we myght forbeare? and how many great thinges doth goddes suffre in the bie princes and lordes, the which not without iustice, they may greuously punyshe? And by that cruell men as cruell, can pardon nothyng, and the goddes pitiefull scantly will chastice any thynge. Yet for al this, I would that none should deceyue himselfe. for though the goddes forbeare their iniuries, yet they leaue them not vnpunished, by straunge Iustice. The goddes ben in their chastisementes as he that geueth a blow to an other the hier that he lifteth his hande, the greatter is the stroke on the cheeke. By semblable wise, the more yeres that thei forbeare our sinnes, the more after warde they do hurt vs with peines.

Truely I haue seene the goddes diuerse times to diuers persones forbeare diuerse sinnes a great while, but at the last I haue seen them al vnwares chastysed with one chastisement.

How

How the emperour wolde haue theim of his court to lyue. Cap. xxv.

Sith that the goddes haue ordeined, and my fatal destinies haue permitted, that I shuld be chosen emperour (not to slouthfull) I haue laboured al that I might, to visite the empire: ye litteil ponge folkes that are here, were gyuen to me of your fathers, for to nourisshe you in my palais. And for you that are bygger, I was desyred to receiue you, in hope to haue gyftes and rewardes, and other I did chose to doe me seruice. The intencion of the fathers, whā they bring their children to the court of princes, is to put theim from daliaunce of their frendes and banysshe theim from the wantonnesse of their mothers. And me semeth it is well done, for the children from their youth oughte to geue theim selfe to trauayle, whereby thei ought to lyue and resyste the displeasour and falles of fortune. Ye are not come from your countreis to learne the vices of Rome, but to learne many good ma-

 ners

ners that are in Rome, and leaue the yll maners of your landes. All that doe not this, and forsake trauayle: geue theim selfe to very ydelnesse. The miserable Rome hath more nede of labourers for to labour, than of lordes and habitantes, Patriciens, that wil passe the tyme in rest and pleasures. I sweare to you, that not for wearyng the armes with the craft of weauyng, and the fyngers with spinnyng, the bordell houses now a daies are fuller of ydell women, than the churches of good prestes. And I sweare agayne, that easilier maie bee founde. x. M. yll women in Rome to serue in pleasure of vices, than. x. M. good men to serue in the churches. I praie you, who fleath the marchauntes in hyr waies? Who dispoileth waiefastryng men and pilgrimes on the mountains? who pilleth the loches and breketh honeste mens doores and wyndowes? who robbe by strengthe the churches? but these lewdryng theues, whiche wil not labour by daie but dispose them to rob by night. O Rome, what harmes come to the for one onely cuyll? Who hath filled Italy so full of loste people, the palais so full of vnable persons,

sons, the mountaines so full of theues, the tauernes so full of women, and euery place so ful of vacabundes: but one, the canker of ydelnes and slouth, whiche destroieth the good customes more than the windes and waters thine olde worne walles. Beleue me one thyng, for I wote that I saie trouth therin, that the craft of weauyng, wherin all the naughtie vilanies are wouen and wrought, and the seede of all vnhappy vices, the slydyng of all goodnesse, the fallyng of all theim that be euill, and the awakyng and prouokyng of all these, is but this foule vice of slouth and idelnesse. And more ouer I saie, that there is no vice amonge all vices, that bredeth so greatte a fyre, and causeth so continuall a syckenesse of slepe amonge aeged folke, and that putteth good folke in so great peryll, and doth so muche domage to them that be euill, as doth ydelnesse. Who is it, that causeth sedicion amonge the people, and sclaunder in Realmes, but they that reste and dooe nothyng: bycause they woulde eate the foode gotten by sweat of theim that labour? who is it, that fyndeth newe inuencions of tributes and

and for ne exactions, but ydell men, the whiche because they will not worke with their handes, finde profite with infinite exactions? who maketh discention betweene neyghbours but ydell folke? they deuide their vil amonge their neighbours, because they occupie not their forces in good workes, nor refrayne their tounges to clatter of other mens liues: who imagineth in these dates so many malices in Rome, the whiche was neuer harde of our fathers nor redde in our bokes: but vacabundes, that neither applie nor serue their wittes about nothynge els, but thynke how to endomage other? The emperour that coulde banysshe all these ydell persons out of his empire might well auaunt him selfe to haue oppressed all the vices of the worlde. O woulde it pleased the immortall goddis, that of so many triumphes, that I haue had of straungers, occupied in good exercises, that I had sene one of the vacabundes of Rome driuen out of all houses. There was an auncient lawe, none might be taken and receiued for a citisen in Rome, but he were first examined by the Censore. In the tyme of

Cato

Cato Censorius, whan any woulde be a citezen of Rome, this examinacion was made of hym: He was not demaunded, of whens he was, nor what he was, nor whens he came, nor wherfore he came, nor of what kinne or auncient stocke he came: but onely thei toke his handes betwene theirs, and if they felt theim softe and smothe, forthwith as an ydell vacabunde man they dispatched and sent him awaie: and if they found his handes harde and ful of hard knottes, by and by they admitted hym a citesen and dweller in Rome. Also whan any officers toke any yll doers, and put theim in prison, that was called Marmotine, in stede of informacion, the first thyng that they toke hede of, was theyr handes, whiche yf they had bene as a labourers handes, and a wo ke man, though his crime were greuous, yet his chastisement was mitigate, and more easye: and yf the vnhappy prisoner chaunced to haue ydell handes, for a littell faute, he shoulde haue sharpe punishment. It hath ben an olde sayng: He that hath good handes, must nedes haue good custome. I saie, I chastised neuer a labouryng man,

man, but I was sory for it: nor I neuer caused to whyppe a vacabunde, but I was gladde of it. I wyll tell you more of this Cato Censorius, whiche was greatly feared. For euen as children in the scholes hering their maister commyng in, renne to their bokes. So whan Cato went through the stretes of Rome, euery body went to their woorke. O right happy baron, before whom the people feared more to be yuell, than to be yll before any other.

Than beholde yet at this houre, what force vertue hath, and how valiaunt a vertuous man is, seeyng that all the world feared Rome onely, for hir worthynes in armes: and all Rome feared Cato, onely for his vertues. The aduentures of men are so diuers, and the suspect fortune geueth so many ouerthwart turnes, that after that a great space she hath geuen great pleasures, incontinent we are cyted to hir subtyll trauailes of repentaunce. O happie Cato Censorine, who with suche as haue folowed his wates, are now sure fro the abatrementes of fortune. Than he that will haue glory in this lyfe, and attaine glory after death, and be

beloued

beloued of many, and feared of all: let hym be vertuous in doyng of good workes, and deceiue no man with vaine wordes. I sweare vnto you by the lawe of a man of worshyp, that if the goddes wouldei accomplishe my desyre, I had rather to be Cato with the vertuous policies that he vsed in Rome, than to be Scipio, with the abundance of blod, that he shedde in Affriche. All we know well that Scipio had a greatte fame in beatyng downe of cities, and cuttyng innocentes throtes, and Cato hath attained eternall memory in reformyng the people, pardonyng trespassours, and teachyng ignorant folke. Than ye may all see, If I haue good reason, more to desire to be Cato, to the profyte of many, than to be Scipio, to the preiudice of so many. Lo my frendes, these wordes I haue said, bycause ye may see, that our predecessours, somme in their owne landes, other in straunge landes, some beyng yonge, and some olde, in theyr tymes had glory in their persones, for theim selfe: and for the worlde to come haue lefte no lesse memorie for their successours and of spryng. And we dooe all

the

the contrary, I beyng emperour am loth for to commaund any yll, and our officers for their interest do wors. And where as we are sette in diuers pleasures by our vice, we fall hourely to dyuers miseries, and are noted into our great infamy. By the whiche occasyon the iust goddes for our vniust workes, geuyng iust sentence, commaunde, that we liue with suspection, die with shame, and to be hurted with forgetfulnes neuer to be had in memorie.

Than you of my courte take good hede, and printe well my woordes in your myndes: for who so euer I see or fynde ydell from hens forth, I discharge hym out of my seruyce. Ye that be learned maie write and rede, ye that be men of armes and knightes, exercise you in feates of warre, ye that be officers, occupie you in your offices. And take this for certaine, that if ye take not this for a warnyng and monicion, that I haue geuen you betwene you and me, the punishementes, that I shall geue vnto you, shall be openly. And to the entent that ye haue it better in your memorie, and to be a doctrine to prynces hereafter to come, this present practise

ctise and remonstrance I haue written in all tounges, and sette it in the high Capitoll with many other of my writtynges. The goddis be keepers of you: and also they defend and kepe me from yll fortunes, and misaduentures.

¶ Of a meruailous and fearfull monster, that was seene in Sicile, and of his writynges. Capitulo. xxvi.

IN the yere of the foūdacion of Rome. vii. C. xx. and. xli. of the eage of Marcus themperour, & ii. yeres before he toke possessiō of the empire, the xx. daie of ẏ moneth Sextilis, which now is called Auguste, about the time of the sonne settyng, in the realme of Sycil, thā called Trinacrie, in a citee called Bellyne, on the see now named Palerme, a porte of the see, there chaunced a thyng right perillouse to them that sawe it, and no lesse fearefull to theim that shall heare it now. As thei of Belline or Palerme were than celebratyng a feaste with greatte ioye: for

for the gladnes that their Pyrates had ouercome the army of the Numidiens, and had taken. x. of their shippes, and caste. xxxii. persons into the sea, because at that tyme thei were ennemies eche to other, and for the yll workes they didde, were shewed the great passions, that passed among them. And as it is the custome, the thyng that these Pirates get on the sea, thei depart it among them all whan thei come home. And whan they come to lande, they spende that merily, that thei gatte with great trauaile. It is a thyng well to be noted, howe all good and yll hartes are applied: The good men haue great desire to their triumphes, and coueitous men to their lucre and wynnyng.

Thus men ought to be beloued, though shortely after they ought to bee abhorred. And also they ought to be abhorred, as though shortly after they ought to be beloued. Thus than the gouernours of the saied citie, commaunded all the saied shippes to bee sequestred into their owne handes, to the intent, that they shoulde not bee solde, nor the coueytous people to haue the aduauntage in the byyng of theim. The cause

cause was, for the custome of the men of the yles was, that all thinges shulde be kept togither, vnto the ende of the war, or at least tyl they had peace. This was a iuste lawe: For many tymes is made stedfast appointmentes betweene great enmis, and not all only for the auncient hatred, but also for lacke of riches to satisfie the present domages. Than as all the people were withdrawen into their houses about suppertyme, for it was sommer sodenly there came a monster into the myddes of the citee, after this shape: He semed to be of two cubytes of height, and he had but one eye, his heed was all pilled, so that his scul might be seene: He had none eares, but that a litel of his neche was opē, wherby it semed that he heard: He had two croked hornes as a got: His right arme was longer than the left, his handes were like hors iete. he had no throt. his neche was egall with his head: his shulders shone as pytche, his brest and stomache was all rough of heare, his face was like a man, sauf it hadde but one eye, in the myddes of his forehed, and had but one nosethyrll, from the waste downward he was not seene, for it was

couered, he satte on a chariot with. iiii. wheles, where at were two lyons fastened together before, and two beares behynde: and it coulde not be determined, whereof the chariotte was made, but there was no difference in facion thereon, and other that were vsed commonlie: In the myddes of the saied chariotte was a caudron like a table with two eares, wherin the saied monster was: and therefore it was seeue but fro the gyrdelsteede vpwarde. He went about in the citee fro gate to gate a long space castyng out spercles of fire The feare was so greatte, that diuers women with childe were delyuered with great perill, and other that were weake harted fell in a swowne. And all the people greatte and small, lesse and more, ranne to the temples of Jupiter, Mars, and Phebus, makyng importunate cries and clamours. And the same seasons all the saied Pyrates were lodged in the gouernours palayes named Solyn. He was of the nacion of Capue, and there was all the richesse kept.
And whan this monster had bene ouer all the citee with his chariot, than the lyons and beares brought hym to the palais,

palays, where the Pyrates were, and beyng verey nigh to the gates that were fast closed, the monster cut an eare of one of the Lyons, and with the blood therof he wrot these letters. R. A. S. P. F. P. These letters were a proofe to all theim of high spirite, to geue declaracion of them: and there were mo declaracions than there were letters. But finally a woman diuinerelle, or contrarie, a soothsayer, that was had in great reputation of hir craftes, made the verey declaracion of the saide letters, sayyng thus. R. reddite. A. aliena. S. si vultis. P. propria. F. in pace. P. possidere. Whiche all togither is to saie: Render that pertaigneth to other, if that ye wyl in peace possesse your owne. Surely the pyrates wer sore a fraied of that diedfull commaundement: and the woman was greatly preised for hir high declaracion. Than forthwith the same night the Monster went into a high mountaine called as than Janicia, and there by the space of three daies was in the sight of all the citie: and in that season the lions made great roring & howlyng, and the beares & monster cast out great fearefull flames. And all that season

there neither appered byrde in the ayre, nor beast in the fieldes, and all the men offered great sacrifices to the goddes, in suche wyse, that they brake the veynes of theyr handes, and fete, and offred their bloode, to se if they might appease their goddes. After the three daies passed sodenly appered a cloude blacke and darke vppon the earth, and it began to thunder and lighten, with a great earthquake, so that many howses fell in the citie, and many of the dwellers and citesyns died. And than sodenly there came a flame of fyre from the monster, and brent all the palays, where the said pyrates were, and the ryches that were in it, so that all was consumed in it, yea the very stones: and the domage was so great, that there fell more than xi. M. houses. And there died as good as x. M. persons. And in the same place on the toppe of the mountaine, where as the monster was, the emperour commaunded to edifie a temple to the god Iupyter in memory of the same. Of the whiche temple themperour Alexander hauyng warre with them of the realme, made a stronge castell.

What

¶ What befell to a citezen of Rome in the time of this empereur Marcus Cap xxvii.

The same tyme that this aduenture chaunced in that cite, there was dwellyng in the same citee a Romayne, named Anthygone, a lorde of noble bloude, and somewhat entred in age: and about two yere before, he, his wyfe, and a doughter of his were banished Rome, and not his sõnes. The occasion was, There was an auncient laudable custome, sith Quintus Cincinnatus dictatour, that two of the auncient senatours togither should goe with the censore newly created, and the olde, in the month of December, for to visite all Rome: and they to call euery Romayne a parte alone, shewyng hym the xii. tables of their lawes, and particular decrees of the senate, demaundyng of theym, if they knew any neighbour in their quarter, that had broken these lawes. And yf they did, it shulde be informed to the senate. And there all togither to ordayne punishment, accordyng

to the diuersitee of the faultes that they had committed. But the faultes committed that present were, they might not chastice, but to aduertise them to amend afterwarde. And all such as were ones warned, and in the next visitacion founde styll vnamended, to be greuously punisshed, and somtime banysshed. These were the wordes of the law in the. v. table and thirde capitel: It is ordeigned by the holy Senate, by consent of blisfull men, receiuyng the auncient colonies, that if men beyng men in one yere do trespas, the men as men for the saide yeare shall dissimule and forbeare: but yf they that be yll as yll dee not amende, they that be good, as good shall chastise them. Also the saide lawe saieth, the first faultes are suffered, because they are committed with weake ignorance: but if they continue theym, that they be chastised because their yll commeth of slouth and malice. This inquisicion was euer made in the moneth of December, because that soone after in the moneth of Januier the offices of Rome were deuided. And it was reason, that they should knowe to, whom they should giue or denie their

digs

dignitees, to thentent that good shulde not be chosen in stede of yll, nor the yl in stede of good. The particuler cause why they banished the man and his wife, with their doughter was this: The second emperour of Rome August ordeined, that none shulde be so hardy to pis at any dores of the temples: and Calygula the .iiii. emperour commaunded, that no woman shuld gyue any cedules to hange aboute the peoples necke, to heale the feuer quartayne. And Cato censorine made a lawe, that no younge man nor yong maiden shulde speake together at the conduites or welles, wher they fetched water, nor at the ryuer, wher they washed their clothes, nor at the ouens, where they baked breade, bycause all the yong people of Rome that were wild and wanton, ranne euer thyther. Soit befell, that as the censours and consules visited the quarter called mount Celio, there was a dweller named Antigonus accused, that he was seene pyssyng agaynst the temple wall of Mars: and his wyfe was accused, that she had sold cedules for feuer quartaines: and likewise his doughter was accused, that she was seene at the conduites

duftes, ryuers, and ouens, spekyng and laughing with yong men of Rome, The whiche was a great shame to the maidens of Rome. Than the censours seyng the yll order, that they had found in the house of the said Anthigone by the regesters, by due examinacion, beyng warned afore, they were banyshed into the yles of Cicill, for as longe as it shoulde please the senate. And like as in edifices, sumptuouse and of greatte estymacion, one stone is not decayde or writhed out without shakyng or mouyng of an other: euen lykewise is it in the chaunces of men. For commonly one vnhappynes chaunceth not, but an other foloweth. And I say this bicause Anthigone lost not only his honor and welth, but also he was banisshed, and besyde that by the tremblyng of the earth his house fell down, and slew a welbeloued doughter of his. And all the while that this was doen at Rome, and that that befell of the monster in Cicile, Marke themperour was in the warres against the Arrogons, and there he receiued a letter from Anthigone, wherin was rehersed his banisshyng, wherof the Emperour had great compassion, and to

com-

comfort hym, sent hym an other letter.

¶ Of a great pestilence that was in Italy in this emperours tyme. Cap. xxviii.

FIue yere after the death of Anthony the meke, father in lawe to Marcus Aurelius, and father to Faustine, there fel a pestilence in Italy, and it was one of the. v. great pestilences amonge the Romaine people. This mortalitee dured the space of. ii. yeres, and it was vniuersal throughout all Italy, to the great domage and feare of all the Romaines: for they thought the goddes wold haue destroied them for some displesure that thei had done against thē. There died so many, as well of great estate, as riche and poore, greatte and small, yong and olde, that the writers had les trauail to write the small numbre of them that were left a lyue, than to writ the multitude of them that were dead. Like as whan a great buyldyng will fall, first there falleth some stone: In lykewyse the Romains neuer had

no

no great pestilence in their time, but first thei were thretned with some token signe or prodigie fro heauen. Two yere before that Hanibal entred into Italy, in an euenyng whan the wether was clere and faire, sodainly it rained bludde and milke in Rome. And it was declared by a woman, that the blud betokened cruell warre, and the milke a mortall pestilence. Whan Scilla retourned from Champayn, to put Marius his enemy out of Rome, his men of warre & knightes saw in a night a fountaine that ran blud, and who so euer was bathed therin, semed to be poysoned with venime. Of the whiche prodigie folowed, that of. ii. C. and. l. M. dwellers in Rome, what with theim that died with the swerde, and other consumed by pestilence, were consumed with Scilla, and of them that fled with Marius, of the saied gret multitude of Romains, there abode aliue no mo but. xl M. persones. Certainly Rome neuer receiued so gret domage in. vi. C. yeres before, as they didde by their owne propre people.

All the tyrantes were neuer so cruell against strange landes, as the Romains were than agaynste their owne propre

lan-

landes. And this semeth to be true, be-
cause the same daie that Scilla passed
through Rome with his bloody swoꝛde,
a capitain of his said to him: Sir Scil-
la, if we slea them that beare armour in
the feeldes, and them that beare no ar-
mour in their houses, with whom shall
we liue? I coniure the by the hie God-
des, sith we be borne of women, leat vs
not slea the women: and sith we be men,
leat vs not slea the men. Thou think-
est that in sleayng all the Romaines,
to make a common welth of beastes of
the mountaynes. Thou entrest with a
crie to defende the common welth, and
to put out the tirantes that distroie the
common welthe, and we do remaine ty-
rauntes our selfes. To mine vnderstan-
dyng, that capitayne merited as great
glory for the good woꝛdes that he spake,
as Scilla did merite chastisemente foꝛ
the crueltee that he did. This we haue
saied, because that ere suche damages
dyd fall, there appered before certaine
prodigies and tokens. No lesse token
was shewed before the mortalitee that
fell in the tyme of this good emperour,
the which was a fearefull thyng. The
case was so: On a day as the emperour

was

was at the temple of the virgins Vestales, sodainly there entred in two hogges, and ranne about his fete, and there fell downe dead. And on an other day as he came from the high Capitoll, for to haue gone out of the gate Palatie, he saiwe two kytes toyglyng together with their talantes: and so fell downe dead at the emperours feete. And within a shoit whyle or season after, as the saide emperour came fro huntyng, his houndes rennyng at a wilde beaste, as he gaue two greihoundes that he loued well, water to drynke with his owne handes, sodeinly they fell downe dead at his feete. Than he remembryng the swyne, the kytes, and the greihoundes dead so sodeinly, he was greatly dysmaied, and assembled all his priestes, magicians, and diuines, demaundyng what they saied to the prodigies. And they by those thynges passed, iudged the dede present, and determined, that within two yeres the goddes wold send great and greuous punyshmentes to Rome.

Than within a shoite while after there began a war against the Parthes, wher by there fell the yere after great famine and pestilence amonge the Romaines.

This

This pestilence came with sores vnder the arme pittes. so that all the senate fled away, and the emperour alone abode still in the capitoll. Than the ayre began to be so corrupt, that though he escaped the pestilence, yet he was vexed with hotte feuers. Wherefore he was fain to leue Rome, and went into Champayne: and finally in the citie of Napies he made his abode during the tyme that the pestilence was in Rome.

How Marcus answered his physicians that woulde haue him leaue his studie. Cap. xxix.

The emperour beyng in the saide citee of Napies, where as other sought pastyme to conserue their liues, this emperour occupied him selfe in his bokes to augment science. A man could do hym no better seruice, than to seke to get hym a new booke: not suche as was written in his tyme, but suche as were forgotten for age. This emperour was not onely a louer of olde and antike bookes, but also of auncient stories, and set very great store by them. And he thus beynge in the citee sycke and

and very yll at ease, there was brought to him out of a citie of Asia called Ephesia by certayne Hebrewes, a boke written in hebrewe: and he toke such pleasure in that booke, that ofte tymes he wold leaue his meate and goe to studie: and for all that he was in his hot feuer, he would not leaue to reade, for all that his physicians warned hym, and his frendes prayed him, and they that were about him, counsailed hym, and demaunded him, why he left to procure the helth of his person in so muche treadyng. He aunswered: By the Goddis that we honour I coniure you, and for the frendeship that is betwene vs. I praie you let me alone. Ye knowe well that suche as are of a delicate bloudde, haue not so muche solicitude as the rusticall people, that haue harde sinewes, and be of a more harder cõplection. Like maner they of eiere vnderstandyng haue nede of other medicines, and to be healed with other syroppes than they of grosse vnderstandyng. This is the difference that I haue of either of theim. The ydeotte kepeth diet from bookes, and resteth on his meate, and the wyse manne abhorreth meate, and draweth

hym

hym to his bookes: If they knew that know not, what thyng knowlage is, I sweare to you they shoulde see what auayleth more the litte knowlage that a wise man hath, than the great riches of the riche man. For the miserable riche person, the more that he encreaseth in richesse, the more he diminisheth in friendes, and groweth in ennemies to his domage. And he that is wittie, the wiser that he is, the better he is beloued of them that be good, and feared of theim that be ill for his profite. One of the thynges, wherein I holde my selfe most bound to the goddes is this, that they haue caused me to compasse the time as I haue doen, the whiche is not a litell gyft for a man to lyue in this worlde. I saie it is, bycause I haue had great compassion of the poore, that be verraie poore, of wydowes, of theim that be sorowfull and vnhappy, and of Orpheline. But without comparison I haue had greatest compassion of theim, that lacke knowlage. For the goddes makyng men ignorannt by naturalitee, might haue made theim goddes by cunnyng and knowlage: and as slouthfull men are tamed and made

lesse

lesse than men, by their negligence, so certainly blessed is he, that is not content to be a man, but it be procure to be more than a man, by his vertue. And cursed is that man, that knoweth not to be a man, but maketh him selfe lesse than a man by his vice. By the iudgement of all philosophiers, there is but one, that is the firste cause: whiche is one god immortall, and yf there be diuers goddes in the heuens, it is bicause there are diuers vertues in the earth. And in the worlde, that is paste, whan the simple men wer seruantes and bond men. and the good men rulers, and gouernours, thei were than so estemed, bicause thei were knowen and renoumed for their good workes in their life. So that thei were holden and reputed as goddes after their death. This is the right reward, that commeth of vertue. It is a thyng consonant to reason, that thei that be good among so many yll in this lyfe, shoulde be greatly honoured amonge the goddes after their death. Ye are not well content withe me. bycause I am alway readyng: But I am worse content with you, bycause I neuer see boke in your handes: ye thinche

it

ſt great trauaile, to a ſycke man to rede, and I repute it a very perillous thyng, for a wholie man, to reſte and be ydle. Ye ſaie, my readyng is cauſe of my feuer quartain in my fleſſhe: and I ſaie, that ydelneſſe ingendreth great peſtilence. Sith I mai profite by my bokes, let no man haue compaſſion of my trauayle. For I deſire rather to dye as a wiſe perſone, among wiſe men, than to lyue ignorantly among men. I demand one thyng of you: a man, preſumyng to be a man, and is not lerned, what difference is betwene hym and other beaſts? Certaynly the beaſtes are more profitable to labour the earth, than ſymple perſons be, to ſerue the common welth: A poore oxe geueth his ſkynne to make ſhoone, his fleſſhe to bee eaten, and his ſtrength to labour: and a poore ſymple ſheepe doeth profite his fleece and woll to make clothe, and his mylke to make cheſe. But what profiteth a folyſh ideot man? Nothyng, but offendeth the goddes, ſclaundereth innocentes, eateth the bread of other, and is chief head of vacaboundes. Of trouth if it laie in my handes to do, I had rather gyue lyfe to a ſymple oxe, than to a malicious ideot.

For the beast liueth for the vtilitee of diuers, without doyng domage to any other: and the simple ideot man liueth, to the domage of all other and without profite to any person. Therfore thynke well, why I am not pleased with them that be ignorant, and loue them that be learned. Marke firs, what I shall shew you: That man semeth good that is meke and gentill of condicion, soft in wordes, and restfull in his persone, and gracious in conuersacion. And contrary wise, that persone for displeaseth me, that is sharpe of wordes, for meueo in his wordes, riotteous in his condicions, and double of his promysse, and harde herted. Also I saie, that if any thyng wante in a wise manne by nature, he supplieth it by science, and he that is ignorant and foolisshe, yf he wante discrecion, he supplieth it with his malice. And truste surely, that a worthy vertuous man that by be commeth wise, and he is to bee trusted: And he that is of an nother maner, beware of hym, for he gothe about to sell his malice. He that will begile an other, the first thyng that he dooeth is, he sheweth hym selfe to be simple and

ignos

ignorant. For a man beyng in credence maie soone spreade abrode his malice. The mothes and sotie wourmes, fret the cloth, and the canker wourme pearceth the bone, and flatteryng men desgrie all the worlde.

Howe science ought to be in princes. Cap. xxx.

THe saide emperour folowyng his purpose, saied: Frendes beholde, howe great domage ignorance doth to all mē. and though it be domageable to euery man, yet it is most hurtfull to a prince, which ought, not onely to be contente, to knowe as muche as any other wyse persone knoweth, but to know that euery man knoweth, syth he is lorde ouer all other. To my iudgement, these princes are not chosen, that they should eate more meate, than all other, nor to be apparayled richelyer than all other, nor to tenne taster than all other: but with presupposicion, that they ought to knowe more than all other. When a prince wyll restrayne

his sensualitie, than he ought to regarde that his person be right honest, and remembre this worde, that is The greatter that a prince is of power, aboue other, the more ought he to be vertuous aboue all other. For certainly the greatest infamy is, to se a man most myghty and most riche aboue all other, and than to be knowē an ideot, and lesse of knowlage than other. Al defautes in a gouernour may be borne saue ignoraunce: for ignorance in a prince, is a stroke of pestilence: and it sleaeth diuers, and infecteth all persones, and vnpeopleth the realme, chaseth away frendes, and geueth hart to enmies of strange nacions, that were in dred, and finally domageth his person, and sclaundreth euery one.

¶ Whan Camille triumphed ouer the frenchemen, the daie of his triumph he wrote these woordes in the Capitoll: O Rome, thou hast been mother of all wyse men, and stepdame to all fooles.

¶ These were woorthy woordes of suche a lorde. And but yf my remēbraunce begyle me, certainly Rome was more renoumed for wyse persons, that came thyther, than for the feates of warre that were sent from thens. Our aun-

cient

cient Romaynes were more feared, for their wisdome and knowlage, than for their conquestes. All the earth feared them more, that tourned leaues of bookes in Rome, than them, that were armed with armure. For that cause Rome was neuer vanquished: and though their armies were deuided and broken, yet they neuer lacked wise men. I can not saie it without teares, Rome is fallen from the most height of hir estate, not for faute of money and armes, for to fyght with all, but for lacke of wyse men, and vertuous for to gouerne. Our forefathers wan like men, and we leese lyke simple children. All thynges that are desired of men: thei attcigne by trauayle, susteine with thought, and departe fro, with great annoyaunce. And the reason is this: There is nothyng so good, nor so well beloued, but the course of tyme, causeth vs to leaue it, and to dispraise and abhorre it, or to be weary therof. This is the vayn vanitee of the world, and lost time lost: for with their yong desires, they do refrayne their desires. They would oftentimes attcigne a thyng, and after thei studie how to go therefro againe. And yet to shewe fur-

thet they: lightneſſe, that that coſt muſ
che, they geue fo: a litteil p:ice. That
that they loue at one tyme, they hate at
an other: and that that thei with great
ſtudie and labour haue atteigned, with
great fury they fo:go. And me thinketh
this is the o:dinance of the goddis, that
he that loueth, ſhall haue an ende: and
it that is beloued, ſhal take an end: and
the tyme that we are in, ſhal end. Than
it is reaſon, that the loue, wherwith we
doee loue, ſhall end in likewyſe. Thus
our appetite is ſo dishoneſt, that in ſe-
yng we deſy:e it, and in deſiryng we p:o
cure it, and in p:ocuryng we atteigne it,
and in the atteigning we abho:re it, and
in the abho:ryng, we leaue it: and than
foo:thwith againe, we p ocure an other
thyng, and that new p:ocuryng, we ab-
ho:re againe: In ſuche wiſe, that whan
we beginne to loue a thyng, than we
fall again to hate it, and in the fallyng
to hate it, we begin againe to loue an
other thyng. So thus finally, our lyfe
doeth end, et our couetiſe doeth leaue
vs. It is not thus of wyſedome and
knowlage, the whiche, if it once enter
into a mannes heart, it cauſeth hym to
fo:geat the trauaile that he toke in the

afe

attelgnyng thereof. For he taketh the tyme paſte as good: and enioyeth with rightfull hope, the tyme preſent, and haſteth idilnes. Nor he is not content with that he knoweth, but inforceth his appetite, to knowe more, louyng that other leaueth: and leauyng that other loueth. Finallie, he that is perfightlie wiſe, ſporteth in this world with trauayle, and in trauailyng in bookes, is his reſt. We haue not to ſaie of al thynges, but of that we ſeeie of theim. For it is an other maner to ſpeake by ſimilitude of a ſtraunger, and of our owne experience. And in this caſe I ſaie, that though we hope of no rewarde of the goddis, nor honour among men, nor memorie of the worlde to come: yet am I right glad, to be al onely a philoſopher, to ſee how gloriouſly the philoſophers haue paſſed their tyme. I demaund one thyng, whan mine vnderſtandyng is buſied in that I haue to doe, and whan my memorie is troubled, in that I haue to determine, and whan my bodie is compaſſed with dolours, and whan my heart is charged with thoughtes, and whan I am without knowlage, and whan I am ſet about with perils, wher

can I be better accompanied than with wise men, or els reding among bokes? In bokes I finde wisedom, wherby I maie lerne: also there I finde worthynesse, whiche I maie folowe: I finde there prudence, to counsell me: I finde suche as be sorowful, with whō I maie wepe. I finde them there that be merie, with whom I may laugh: I finde there simple folke, at whom I maie sport: I find that is nought, which I mai leaue: And finallie in bookes I finde, howe in prosperitee I ought to behaue me: and how in aduersitee I ought to guide me. O howe happie is that man, that hath wel red: And yet more happie is he that though he knoweth muche, yet staieth vpon counsayle. And if this be true generally, than muche more it is necessarie, that he keepe the true waie, whiche gouerneth all other. It is a rule infallible, that a prince being wise, can neuer be simplie good, but very good: and the prince that is ignorant, can not be simplie yll, but verie yll. A prince, that is not well fortunate, his wisdom maie greatly excuse him to his people, of his misfortune geuen to hym by fortune. When a prince is greatly beloued of his

commontie, and is vertuous of his perſon, ſith in euery man ſaith, if he haue not good fortune: although our prince want good fortune, yet his woorthie vertues faile not: and though he be not happie in his intentes, yet at the leaſt he ſheweth his wiſedom in the meane ſeaſon. And though fortune denie hym at one howre, yet at an other tyme ſhe agreeth by his wiſedome: And contrarie wiſe, an vnwiſe prince, and hated of his people, by euill fortune, runneth into great perill. For if yl ſucceede to him in weighty matters, than incontinent it ſhall be ſaid it is by reaſon of the ignorance of hym ſelfe, or by yll counſell of ſuche as be about him: and if goodnes ſucceede to hym, it ſhal not be attributed by reaſon of his good gouernaunce, but that fortune hath ſuffered it, and not by the circumſpect wiſedom, that he hath had in the meane ſeaſon but that it was of the pitie that the goddis had of him. Than ſith it is thus, a vertuous and a worthy prince, in his ydell times, ought ſecretly to reede in bookes, and openly to commen and counſel with wiſe men. And in caſe yll fortune will not permitte hym, to take their counceils, yet at the leaſt,

he shal recouer credence among his subiectes. I will saie no more to you, but I esteme the knowlage of a wise person so muche, that if I knew that there were shoppes of sciences, as there is of other marchandise, I will geue all that I haue onely to learne, that a wise man lerneth in one daie. Finally I say that I will not geue, that litteli that I haue lerned in one houre, for all the golde in the worlde: And more glorie haue I, of the bookes that I haue red, and of such woorkes as I haue written, than of all the victories, that I haue had, or of the realmes that I haue wonne.

¶ What a villaine saied to the Senatours of Rome, in the presence of the Emperour. Cap. xxxi.

THis Emperour, being sicke, as it is aforesaied, on a daie as there were with hym diuers Phisicions and Maistours, there was a purpose moued among them, how greatly Rome was chaunged, not all onely in edifices, but also in customes, and was full of flatterers, and vnpeopled of menne, that

that durst say the trouth. Than the Emperour said: the fyrst yere, that I was consull, there came a poore villain from the ryuer of Danubie, to aske iustice of the Senate, agaynst a Censour, who did diuers extorcions to the people: and he had a small face, and great lippes, and holowe eyes, his heare curled, bare headed, his shoes of a Porkepes skinne, his coate of Goths heare, his gyrdell of bull rusches, and a wylde eglantine in his hand. It was a strange thing to se him so monstruous: and mervayle to heare his purpose. Certaynly, whan I sawe him come into the Senate, I wende it had ben some beast, in the figure of a man. And after I had hard him, I iudged him one of the goddes, yf there be goddes among men.

And as the custome in the Senate was, that the complaintes of the poore persons were harde, before the requestes of the ryche: this villayne had licence to speake, and so began his purpose, wherin he shewed hym selfe as bolde in wordes, as extreme and base in his arraie, and said: O ye ancient fathers, and happie people, I Myles, dwellyng in a citie on the ryuer of Danubie, doe salute you

Ses

Senatours, that are here assembled in the sacred Senate. The wyll do permit, and the goddes suffre, that the capitaines of Rome, with theyr great pryde haue reduced vnder subiection, the vnhappy people of Germanie. Great is the glory of you Romaynes, for your battayles, that ye haue wonne through out all the worlde. But if writers lie not true, more greter shalbe your infamie, in time to come, for the cruelties that ye haue done to the innocentes. My predecessours had people nigh to the floud of Danubie, and because they dyd yll, the earth wared drie, and they drew to the freshe water: than the water was noyfull to them, and they returned to the main lāde. What shall I say than? your cruelties is so great, to haue strangers goodes, and your pryde so renowmed, to commaund all straunge landes, that the Sea may not prolite vs in the depenes therof, nor the erth, to assure vs in the caues therof. Therfore I hope in the iust goddes that as ye, without reason, haue caste vs out of our houses and possessions: so other shall come, that by reason, shall cast you out of Italie and Rome. An infallible rule it is, that he, that

that taketh wrongfully an other mans good, shall lese the right of his owne. Regard ye Romains though I be a villain, yet I know, who is iust and righteouse, in holdyng his owne: and who a tirraunt, in possessyng others. There is a rule, that what so euer they, that be yll haue gathered in many daies, the goddes taketh fro them in one daie: and contrary wise, all that euer the good haue lost in many daies, the goddes restoreth to them agayn in one daie. Beleue me in one thyng, and haue no doubte therin, that of the vnlaufull winnyng of the fathers, there folowyth the iuste losse to their children. And if the goddes take from them that be yll euery thyng, that they haue wonne as sone as it is won, it were but reason: but in lettyng them alone, therby they assemble by litell and litell diuers thynges, and than, whan they thinke least theron: it is taken from them all at ones. This is a iust iudgement of the goddes, that sith they haue done yll to diuers, that some should do yll to them. Certainly it is not possible to any vertuous man, yf he be vertuous, that he take any taste in an other mans good. And I am sore abasshed,

how

how a man, kepyng an other mans good can liue one houre. Syth he seeth, that he hath done iniurie to the goddes, sclãdered his neighbours, pleased his ennemies, lost his friendes, greued them that he hath robbed, and aboue all, hath put his owne person in perill. This is a shamefull thyng amonge men, and culpable before the goddes, the man that hath the desyre of his hert, and the bridell of his workes at such libertee, that he taketh and robbeth fro the poore, semeth much to him: but a great deale of his own semeth to hym but littell. O what an vnhappy man is he, whether he be Greke, or latin, that without consideracion, wyll chaunge his good fame into shame, iustice into wronge, right into tiranny, or trouth into lesyng, the certain into vncertayne, hauyng an noiaunce of his own goodes, and die for other mens: He that hath his princypall intencion, to gather goodes for his children, and seke not for a good name, amonge them that be good: it is a iust cause, that he lese all his goodes, and so without good name to be shameful amonge them that be yll. Let all couetous and auaricious people knowe, that

that neuer amonge noble men was gotte good renoume, with spredyng abrode of yll gotten goodes. It can not endure many daies, nor yet be hidden vnder couert many yeres: a manne to be holden riche among theim that be riche, and an honourable man among theim that be honorable: for he shall be infamed, of that he hath gathered his riches, with greatte couetise, or kepeth it with extreme auarice. O if these couetous people were as couetous of their owne honour, as thei be of other mens goodes: I swere to you, that the littell worme or mothe, that eateth the gounes or clothes of suche couetous people, shoulde not eate the reste of their lyfe, nor the canker of infamy, distroie their good name and fame at their deathes. Herke ye Romains, harke what I will saie, I woulde to the goddes, that ye coulde tast it. I see that all the worlde hateth pride, and yet is there none, that foloweth mekenes and humilitee. Euery man condempneth aduoutrie, and yet I see none, that lyueth chaste: Euery man curseth excesse, and I se none lyue temperately: euery man prayseth pacience, and I see none that will suffre:
euery

euery man blameth slouth, and I see none but thei that be idell. euery one blameth auarice, & yet euery body robbeth. One thing I say & not without weping: I saie euery man, with his tounge only, prayseth vertue, & yet thei themselues, with al their limmes are seruantes vnto vices. I saie not this onely for the Romains, which been in Illirie: But I say it by the senatours that I see in the senate. All ye Romains, in your deuises about your armes beare these woordes: Romanorum est debellare superbos, & parcere subiectis. That is, it pertaineth to Romains, to subdue theim that be proud, and to forgiue subiectes. But certainly ye may better saie: it perteineth to Romains, to expell innocētes, and to trouble & vex wrongfully peasible people. For ye Romains ar but distroiers of peasible people and theues to rob from other that they sweate for.

¶ Of diuers other thynges that the villaine saied before the Senate. Capitulum

O ye Romains, saied this villaine, what action haue ye, that are brought vp nygh to the ryuer of Tyber

Tyber agaynst vs, that are nigh to the ryuer of Danubie? Haue ye seene vs frendes to your ennemies? or haue we declared vs your enuemies? or haue ye herde saie, that we haue lefte our owne lande, and inhabited any strange landes? or haue ye herde, that we haue rebelled agaynst our lordes, or haue troubled any straunge realmes? or haue ye sent vs any ambassadours, to desire vs to be your frendes? or hath any hoste of ours come to Rome to distroie you, as our enuemies? or hathe any kyng died in our realme, that in his testamēt, made you heyres to our realme? or what antyke lawe haue ye founde, wherby we ought for to be your subiectes? Of trouth in Almayne, hereby, they haue felt your tyranny, as well as we haue hearde of your renoume.

And more ouer I saie, that the names of the Romayns, and the crueltee of tyrannes, ioyned togither in one daie vpon our people. I wot not what ye wyll saie, that the goddes care not for the hardinesse of men: for I see, he that hath muche, deeth tyranny to hym that hath but litteli, and he that hath but lyttell, though it be to his infamy, wyll

ſerue him that hath muche. So that diſ-
ſord:ed men appoynt them with ſecrete
malice, and ſecrete malice giueth place
to open theft: and the open robbery no
man reſiſteth. And therfo:e it cometh,
that the couetiſe of an yll man neceſſa-
rily is had to be complete, to the p:eiu-
dice of many good men. One thyng I
will ſaie, that either the goddis ought
to thynke how theſe men ſhall haue an
ende, o: els that the wo:lde muſt ende:
o: els the wo:ld, to be no wo:ld. O: for-
tune muſt hold ſure with you, if all that
ye haue won in. viii. C. yeres ye leſe not
in. viii. daies. And where as ye are be-
come lo:des ouer many, ye ſhall become
ſlaues to all the wo:lde. Certaine the
goddis ſhall be vniuſte, without that
thynge comme, that muſt fall to the
wo:lde hereafter. For that man that
maketh hym ſelfe a tyrannt parfo:ce, it
is right, that he retourne to be a ſlaue
by iuſtice. And it is reaſon, that ſith ye
haue taken our miſerable lande, that ye
kep: vs in Iuſtice. I haue great mer-
uayle of you Romains, that ye ſeude ſo
ſymple perſons to be our iudges. For I
ſweare to the goddis, they can not de-
clare your lawes, no: vnderſtande ours.

I wot

I wot not whither ye sent them thither or no, but I shall shewe you what they do there. They take openly, what so euer is diliuered to theim: and they doe theyr profite with that thei desyre in secrete. They chastise the poore person greuously, and they forbere for money, them that be riche: they consent to many wronges, to bryng theim after to the lawes: and without goodes it booteth not to demande iustice: and finally vnder the colour that they be indges, vnder the senate of Rome, they say they may robbe all the lande. What is this, ye Romayns? shall your pride neuer haue an ende in commandyng, nor your couetise in robbyng? Saie what ye wyll: If ye do it for our children, charge them with yrons, and make them sclaues: If ye doe it for our goodes, goe thither & take theym. If our seruice doeth not content you, stryke of our heades. Why is not the knyfe so cruell in our throtes, as your tyrannies be in our heartes? Doe ye knowe what ye haue dooen ye Romaynes? Ye haue caused vs to sweare, neuer to retourne to our wyues: but to slea our chyldrene, rather than to leaue theim in the handes of so cruell

tyrantes. We had leuer suffre the beastly motions of the flesshe for. rr. or. rrr. yeres, than to die without wounde, leuyng our children, seiaues, ye ought not to doe this ye Romaines. A tanta tamen patience, ought the better to be vsed, to the intent, that the miserable captiues, seyng iustice duely ministred to theim, should thereby forget the tyranny passed, and to set their hertes to perpetuall seruitude. And sith we ar come to complayne of the greses that your Censoures doe vpon the shudde of Danubie, peraduenture you of the senate will here vs. Wot ye what they doe? Harke, and I shall shewe you. If there come a right poore man, to demand iustice, hauyng no money to geue, nor wyne to present, nor oyle to promise: they feede hym with woordes, saiyng how he shal haue iustice, but they make him to waste the litell that he hath, and geue hym nothyng, though he demaunde muche. And so the miserable person, that came to complayne, returneth complainyng on you all, cursyng his cruell destenies, and maketh exclamacion vpō the right wise goddes. I liue with acornes in winter, & eat down the greene corne in sommer,

mer, and sometime, I goe a fishyng for pastime. so that the most parte of my liuyng is fedyng in the feldes, ye wote not why: heare me, and I shall shewe you. I see such tiranny in your censures, and such robberies amonge the poore people, and I see such warres in that realme, and hope of so small remedie in your Senate, that I am determined as most vnhappy, to banyshe my selfe out of myne owne house, and honest companie, to thentent that my herte should not feele so great a hurte. It is a great pein to suffer the ouerthrow of fortune: but it is a greatter yll, whan one feleth it, and can not remedie it, and yet without comparison, my greatest greefe is, whan my losse may be remedied, and he that maie, wyl not, and he that wyl, can not remedie it. O ye cruell Romains, if the sorowes all onely should be reduced to memorie, that we suffre, my tong should be weary, and all my membres faint, and mine eies should wepe bludie teares, and my flesh would consume. This in my land may be sene with eies, herd with eares, and felt in propre person. Certainly my heart departeth, and my soule is troubled, and mine entrayles

les bicke. And I beleue yet, the goddis will haue cõpassion. I will desire you to take my wordes for sclaunder. For ye Romaines, if ye be Romaines, ye maie well see, that the trouble that we haue commeth by men, and among men, and with men, and by the handes of men. Than it is no meruaile, though menne fele it as men. One thyng cõforteth me, and diuers times among other, that be vnfortunate, it cometh to suche purpose, the whiche is, I thinke the goddis bee so rightwise, that their fierce and cruell chastisemẽtes come not but by our own cruell shrewdnes, and our secrete sinnes awaketh vs so, that we haue opẽ iustice. But of one thynge I am sore troubled, because the goddes can not be contented. For a good person, for a litteli faute, is greatly chastised, and he that is vil, for many fautes is not punished at all. So thus the goddes forbeare some, and some haue no mercie. Thus it seemeth, that the goddes will torment vs by the handes of such men as greue vs extremely. So that if there were any iustice in the worlde, whan they chastice vs with their handes: we shoulde not merite to haue our heades on the shulders. Ther-

fore

fore I saie to you, ye Romaynes, and sweare by the immortall goddis, that in xv. daies that I haue been in Rome, I haue seen suche dedes doen in your Senate, that if the least deede of theim had been doen at Danubie, the galowes and gibets, had been hanged thicker of theines than the vineyard with grapes and reisyns. And sith that my desire hath seen, that it desireth, my hert is at reste, in spredyng abrode the poison that was in it. If my toong hath offended you in any thyng, I am here redie to make recompence with my throte. For in good soth, I had rather to winne honour, offring my self to the death, than ye shold haue it, in takyng my life fro me. Thus this villayn ended his purpose. Than the Emperour saied: Howe thinke ye my frendes, what kernel of a nut? what golde of sylke? what grayne of strawe, what rose of thornes, what marowe of bones, dyd he vncouer? What reason so hye, what wordes so well set, what truthe so true, and what malice opened he so? He discouered the duitie of a good man. And I sweare to you, as I maie be deliuered from this euill feuer that I haue, that I sawe this villaine

standyng a hole houre on the erth boldlie. and we holdyng downe our heddes abashed, and could not auntere hym a word. The nexte day it was accorded in the Senate, to sende new Iudges to Danubie. And we commanded the villain to deliuer vs in writyng, all that he had saide, that it might be registred in the booke of good sayynges of straungiers. And the said villaine. for his wise wordes was made patrician, and so tarried still at Rome, and for euer was sustened of the common treasure.

Howe the Emperour desired the wheatth of his people, and the people his welth. ca xxxiii.

IN the second yere that Marcus was chosen emperour the xiv. yere of his age, as he returned fro the warres that he had in conquering the Germaines, and the Aragons, whereby he gotte glory and richesse for the Romaines empyre, he lay at Salon to rest hym and to appointe his armie, and to thentent, that the Romaine should appareil his triumphe in Rome right glorious and

and richly, There was one thyng doen, that was neuer seene before in Rome. For the daie of his triumphe, by all the people & cōsent of the Senate, the prince Comodus, sonne to Marcus Aurelius was chosen after the deathe of his father to bee Emperour vniuersall of the empire He was not chosen by the peticion of his father, for he was against it with all his power saiyng, that the empire ought not to be geuen for the laude of theim that be deade, but he should be chosen for his owne good workes. Oftentymes this Emperour would saie, Rome shalbe lost whan thelection shall be taken frō the Senate, and the Emperor to inherite thempire by patrimonie.

¶ Nowe to retourne where as we left. This Emperour beyng at Salon, studied soore to enter into Rome in good order, and Rome studied sore, howe to receiue hym, as it apperteigned triumphantly for suche a warre. He was sore desired of thempire: and euer he imagined, how to do plesure to the peple, and the people were rady to die in his seruice. Diuers tymes was moued a pleasaunt purpose in the Senate, whiche of these thinges was most to be loued: The em-

Emperour to loue the people of the empire, or the people of the empire the emperour. On a daie it was determined to sette iudges in that case: There were chosen the ambassadours of the Parthes and Rhodes: and vpon that effect they had writyng. It was layed for the Emperour the good deedes that he had doone in his absence, and the tokens of loue, that thei had alwaies shewed in his presence. And on another daie the Emperour moued an other question before the Senate: saiyng that it was a greatter glorie, to haue suche subiectes, than the glorie of the Senate, to haue suche an Emperour. Than the Senate saied nay: affirmyng that it is a greatter glorie, that they had of hym, than he could haue of them. And in this maner the Emperour gaue the glorie to the people, and the people to the Emperour. Thus in sport and plaie thei toke Iudges againe. It was a meruailleus thyng to see the ioy that thei all had to proue their intentes. And the good Emperour for a memorie gaue the laude to the people, because of their great obedience and seruice, and extreme loue that he had found in theim: And the happie

people

people recounted the great clemencie and mercie, that was in the Emperour, and his vertue and woorthynesse in gouernyng, his honestie of liuyng, and his force and valiauntnesse in conquerryng. It was a great thyng to see the honour that the people gaue to the Emperour, and the good renoume that the emperour gaue to the people. The writynges were geuen to the straunge ambassadours, to the entent that the people might lerne to obeie their princes and princes to loue their people. To thend that by such examples, as it was reason, the good people should enforce theim selfes, and the yll to withdrawe. Thus this emperour adressed his entre with his capteins and captiues. And Rome apparailed theim with all their Senatours and people to receiue him. It was a huge thynge to see what people was at Rome to goe forth to meete hym, and what people were with the Emperour to enter. They that were at Salon had their eies and also their hertes at Rome: and they that were at Rome had their hearties at Salon. In suche wyse that their eies dasseled with that thei sawe, and their hertes abed for that they hoped to see.

There

There is no greatter paine, than whan the heart is deferred fro that it longeth sore to haue.

¶ Now the Emperour gaue Lucilla his doughter lycence to sporte hir at his palaies. Cap. xxxiiii.

IT is to be knowen, that the Romaynes had a custome, that in the moneth of Ianiuer they should make triumphes to their emperors: and in the same season that the triumphes were apparayled, Faustine the Empresse caused diuers high persons to pray the Emperour to geue lycence to a doughter of his, to come from there as she was kepte, to the palais, and sporte hir at the feastes. This maiden was named Lucie or Lucill: She was higher than the prince Comodus hir brother: she was of a goodly gesture, and well proporcioned of hyr bodie, and well beloued of hir mother. And she resembled hir not all onely in hir beautie, but also in hir liuyng. And though the requeste was pitifull, and they that made it familiar, and he

to

to whom it was made, was the fa-
ther, and the demaunder was the mo-
ther, and she for whom it was made,
was the doughter: the emperour gran-
ted it, but not without great displea-
sure. Neuertheleſſe Fauſtine was
full gladde, and as ſone as ſhe had ob-
teined licence, ſhe brought hyr dough-
ter to the palais. And ſo whan the day
of the great feaſt and triumphe was
come, the damoyſell Lucille beyng out
of hir gouernaunce, and ſeyng hir ſelfe
at large, truſtyng than vpon hir owne
innocencie, toke no hede of any ſtraunge
malice, but laughed with theym that
laughed, talked with theim that tal-
ked, and beheide theim that beheide
hir, and without care ſhe thought, that
none thought yll of hyr, becauſe ſhe
thought yll of none: yet in thoſe day-
es a mayden to laugh amonge men was
reputed as muche as a woman to haue
doen aduoutry with prieſtes of Greece,
ſo great was the honeſtie of Romayne
women eſtemed. And lightneſſe of may-
dens was a great infamy: for they wer
more puniſhed for one open lightnes:
than for two ſecret faultes. Amonge all
other, ſeuen thynges the women bidde

obſerue

obserue surely, that is to witte, not to speake muche at feastes, nor to eate muche at banquettes, to drinke no wyne in their heith, nor to speake alone with men: not to lift vp their eies in the temples, nor to stande longe lokyng out at wyndowes, nor to go out of their howses, without their husbandes. The woman taken with any of these dishoneste thynges, was alwaies after reputed infamed. Many thynges were suffred in persons of smal reputacion, that were not suffred in persons of honour. For the noble women could not conserue the reputacion of their estate, but by reason of kepyng their person in great feat and good order. All thynges done unkyndly is sin, and may be amended: but the dishoneste woman is alwai shamed. The noble ladies, yf they will be taken as ladies, whā thei excede other in richesse, the lesse licence ought they to haue to go wandryng about. Certainly the plentie of goodes, and the libertee of persones, should not be a spur to pricke theim forward, but rather a bridell to kepe theim in their closettes. And this is said, for by cause that duryng the saide feastes, the damoisel Lucill, as a yong maiden, and

Faustin

Faustine, hir louyng mother not beyng olde, sometime a foote, and sometime ridyng on horsebacke, sometyme openly, and sometime mettuailous secretely, sometimes with company, and sometimes without companie, sometime on the daie, and now and than by night, thei would walke abrode in the stretes of Rome to see the fieldes of Vulcan: in gardens Saturnines, and drinke at the conduittes of Petos water, and sometime passe the time by the faire riuer of Tyber, and in all suche other pleasaunt sportes as appertteigned to their age. And though the lore tryed primetyme prouoked them therto, yet the grauitee of suche ladies shoulde not suffre it. I will saie one thyng, to the entent noble women shulde take aduertisement therby, and that is this: I know not whiche was the greattest dissolucion, eyther the walkyng abrode of Faustine and Lucille through the stretes and other places, or els the boldenesse of yll speakers, speakyng against their persons and good names. The withdrawynge and keepyng of women close, is a bridell to the toungues of all meune: and the womaune that dooeth

doth otherwise, otherwise putteth his good name in danger. Of trouth it wer better for a woman neuer to be borne, than to be defamed. Amonge the Romaines the linnage of the Cornelies wer had in great estimacion. For of them all neuer none was founde a cowarde, nor a woman defamed: The histories shew, that ones a woman of that linnage beyng onely defamed, was hanged on the galowes by the handes of his own kinsfolke. Surely it was well done of the Romaynes, to the entent that the wickednesse of one woman shuld not suffre yl fame to renne vpon the hole linnage: wher is ther nobleines without shame? The thinges that touche honour, ought not to be hyd, but amended by Justice, and to put them to deth, that lose their good fame. It is not sufficient for a person to be good: but it is necessary that he put from him all occasions that are reputed to be yll. All the losses that a man maie haue of any temporall goodes, can not counterpeise the least losse of good fame. A man that layeth his good fame for a farthyng at a but of this worlde, at a hundred shotes scantly shall he shoote one a right.

And

And contrarywise the man that feareth no shame, nor will not haue his persone in reputacion, there is no hope of goodnesse in hym. Than this emperour, as a shypmaister, sayling in most faire and calme weather, forcasteth, and is in grete thought and feare of tempestes and stormes to come, in the seasses of his great glorie, was in doubte of those two ladies, lest sodeinly any misfame shulde folowe. And certainly he hadde great cause. For it is an infallible rule of enuious fortune, that this present felicitie is greuen with a pricke of a sodayne fall of mischaunce. In thynges naturall, we see somtyme the sea calme, and yet foorthwith foloweth a perilous storme, and consequently the great heat of the daie, is signe of thunder at night. If late fortune commyng with some present delyte or pleasure, is a token, that by flatteryng vs, she hath made redy hir snares to catche vs. When the myller is sure, he dresseth his water gate, and the labourer whan it rayneth not, coureth his house, thynkyng that an nother tyme the wethers or raynes will fall thereon, and trouble hym: In like wise a wise and a vertuous

man ought to thynke, as longe as he liueth in this worlde, he holdeth his felicitee but at aduenture, and his aduersitee for his naturall patrimony. Among all theim that couldc reioyce in prosperitie, and helpe them selfe in aduersitee, this emperour Marcus Aurelius was one, whiche for any flatterynges that Fortune couldc shew hym, he neuer trusted in them, nor for mishap that he had in this life, he neuer dispaired.

What Marcus the emperour saied to a senatour as touchyng triumphes. Cap. xxxv.

When these feastes wer passed, as Sextus Cheronense saieth, a Senatour named Aluinus, saied to the emperour, that same nyght that the triũph ceassed, Syr reioyce you, sith that this daie ye haue geuen so great richesse to the commune treasure of Rome, & I haue seene your person in the triũph of glorie, & to the worlde to come of you & your house, you haue left perpetuall memory. The emperour heryng these wordes, saied in this maner: Frendes, it is good reason we

we beleue the hunter knoweth the fiers-
nes of bestes, the phisicion the propretie
of herbes, the mariner, the perils and
rockes, the capitaynes the chaunces of
warre, and thēperour that triumpheth
the ioies that he hath of triumphes. As
god helpe me, and as euer I haue parte
with my predecessours, & as euer I haue
good fortune, the thoughts that I haue
had for these feastes, haue ben far gret-
ter than the feares that I haue had in
all the iourneis and battailes afore.
And the reason therof is very euident
to them that haue clere vnderstandyng.
For alwais in cruell battailes I was e-
uer in hope to haue glory, and fered not
the ouerthrow of fortune. What could
I lose in battaile? Nothing, but the lyfe
that is the least thyng that men haue,
and alwaies in these triumphes I feare
to lose renowme, whiche is the greattest
gift that the goddes haue giuen me. O
how happy is that man, that loseth his
lyfe, and leaueth behynd hym perpetu-
all memory? Let euery man vnderstand
this that wyll, and say what thei lyst:
that amonge noble and valyaunt ba-
rons, he dieth not, that leeseth his
lyfe, and leaueth good renowme after
 hym,

him, and much lesse time liueth he that hath an yll name, though he lyued many yers. The auncient philosophiers reckened not the lyfe of a man, though he lyued many yeres, but they reckened the good woorkes that he had doen.
The senate was importune vppon me, that I shuld take this triumphe, as ye knowe well: And I can not tell, whiche was greattest, theyr desyre or my resistence. You know not the trouth why I saie thus. ß did it not bycause of ambicion, and for couetousnesse of glory, but it was bycause I feare the humayn malice. At the daie of the triumphe ther was not so great ioy shewed by the simple persons, but the hyd enuy was gretter among the greattest persones. This glory passeth in one daie, but enuy abydeth a whole yere. The plentifull realm of Egypt, as happie in the bloudshed of their enemies, as in the waters of Nile, had a lawe immouable. They neuer denied their mercy to the captiues ouercome: nor they gaue no triumphe to their capitaines ouercomers.
¶ The Caldeys mocke at the Romayn triumphes, affirmyng how there is not geuen so great chastisement to the Capitayns

pitaigne of Egipt ouercome, as the empire Romaine geueth to the ouercõmer, whan triumphe is giuen to hym. And surely the reson is good, for the thought full capitaine, whan he hath chased his enemies, that Rome hath in straunge landes: with his owne proper speare, in paiment for his trauaile, they geue hym enemies in his owne proper lande. I sweare to you, that all the Romaine capitaines haue not left so many enemies dead by sworde, as they haue recouered yll willers the date of their triumphes. Let vs leaue the Caldeis, and speake we of our auncient Romayns, whiche if they might retourne nowe again into the worlde, they wold rather be tied fast to the chariots as captiues, than to sit in them as victours. And the cause is, their neighbours seyng theym goig as captiues, wold be moued in their hertes to set theim at libertie, so that the glory of their triumphes, is a mean to cause them to be persecuted and pursued. I haue red in writyng, and herde of my predecessours, and haue seene of my neighbours, that the abundance of felicitee hath caused cruell emuie to bee in many. O in what perill art they

that with particuler honour would be exalted among other: In the most highest trees the force of windes is most advaunced. And in most sumptuous buildinges lightenyng and thunder doeth moste hurt, and in great thicke and drie bushes, the fyres kendle most easily: I saie, that in theim that fortune hath reised most highly, against them spreadeth the greatest poison of enuie. All such as be vertuous, say: The mo enemies thei subdue to the common welth: the mo enuiouse they recouer of their renoume. One ought to haue great compassion of a vertuous man: because where he trauaileth to be good, there abideth one thyng in him, of the which all onely at the death he leeth thend. And that is, the more a man recouereth here renoume among straungers, the more he is persecuted with enuie amõg his own nacions. Homere sheweth in his Illiades, that Calutio kyng of the Argiues was expert in clergie, valiant in armes, and indued with diuers graces, beloued with his people about al other: he was a great louer of his goddes, and worshipper of them. This good kyng had a custome, that in al thynges that he had

to

so doe, he would first aske counsaile in the temples of the goddis: He wold begin no warre against other, nor ordein no newe law nor custome in his realme, nor geue answere to the ambassadours, nor put no trespassours to death, nor set no tribute on his people: but firste he wouldo goe to the temple, and make diuers sacrifices to knowe the will of the goddes. And bycause he went so often to the oracles, he was demaunded what answere the goddes made to hym in secrete, seeyng he was so importunate. Then he answered and said: I demaud of the goddes, that they shold not geue me so litteli, that euery man might debate and ouercome me. Nor also that they should geue me so muche, that euerie manne should hate me, but my desire is to haue a meane estate, wherewith euery man might loue me. For I had leuer be felow with many in loue, than to be king of al with hatred and enuie.

¶ Of the greatte reproche that the emperour gaue to his wyfe Faustine and hir doughter. Cap. xxxvi.

After the feastes of the triũphe aforesaide, this good emperor willyng to satisfy his herte, and to aduertise Faustine his wife, and to teache his innocent doughter, without knowlage of any other, he sent for theym, & said I am not content Faustine, with that your doughter doth, & yet lesse with that you doe, whiche are hir mother. These maydens, for to be good maidens ought well to know how to obei their mothers. And the mothers to be good mothers, ought to know how to bryng vp their children. The father is excused in geuyng counsell, if the mother be vertuouse, and the doughter shamfast. It is a great shame to the father, beyng a noble man, that his wife beyng a woman, shuld chastise his sonne: And a great inconuenience of the mother, beyng a mother, that hir doughter shuld be chastised by the handes of hir father. There was a law ordeyned by the Rodiens, that the father with

with the doughter, if she had a mother, nor the mother with the sonne, yf he wer a man, should not entermedle eche with other, but al only men with men, and women with women ought to be brought vp. And the extremitee of the lawe was suche, that among them that dwelled in one house, seemed that the fathers had no doughters, nor the mothers no sonnes. O Rome, I wepe not to see thy streetes vnpaued, nor that there is so many gutters in thy houses, nor that the battylmentes fall downe, nor the tymbre hewed downe, nor for the minishyng of thine habitauntes, for all this the tyme bringeth, and the tyme beareth awaie: but I wepe for the, I wepe for the againe, to see the vnpeopled of good fathers, and vnprouided in the nourishyng of their sonnes. Our countrey began to fayle vtterlie, whan the doctrine of sonnes and doughters was enlarged, and their bridell let go at libertee. For there is now suche boldnesse in men children, and so litteil shamefastnesse in women children, with the dishonestee of the mothers, that where as one father sufficed for. xx. sonnes, and one mother for. xxx. doughters, now. xx.

las

fathers scantly dare vndertake to bring vp wel one sonne, and .iii. mothers one doughter. I saie to you thus Faustine, you remembre not howe you are a mother, for you geue more libertie to your doughter then ought to be suffred. And you Lucill remembre not, how you are a doughter: For you shew to haue more libertie than requireth for a yong mayden. The greatest gift that the goddes haue geuen to the matrones of Rome is because thei are women, thei kepe them selfe close and secrete: and because thei are Romains, thei are shameles. The day whan the women want the feare of the gods secretely, and shame of men openly, beleue me, either thei shall faile the world, or the world them. The common welth requireth so great necessitee, that the womē that dwel therin, should be as honest, as the capteins be valiant. For the captains geyng to warre, defēd them, and the womē that abide at home conserue them. As a. iiii. yeres passed ye sawe the great pestilence, and I demaunded then to haue a compte of the people, and I found, that of a. C. xl. M. women well liuyng .xxx. M. died: And of .x. M. yll women, in maner thei escaped

ped all. I can not tell for whiche I should weepe, either for the lacke, that we haue of the good and vertuous women in our common welth, or els for the greuons hurt and domage, that these yl and wicked women dooe to the youthe of Rome. The fyre that brenneth in mount Ethna, doth not so gret domage to them that dwell in Scicile, as one yl woman dooeth in the circuite of Rome. A fierse beast and a perillous enemie to the common welth, is an yll woman, for she is of power to do much harme, and is not apte to folowe any goodnesse. O howe many realmes and kynges reade we of, to be lost by the yll gouernaunce of women, and to resist agaynst theim hath ben nede of wisedome, perilles, money, force, and worthynesse of many men. The vices in a womā is as a grene rede that boweth euery waie: but the libertie and dishonestie is as a drie kire that breketh in such wise, that the more yll they vtter, the more vnlikely is the redresse therof again. Beholde Faustine, there is no creature that more desireth honour, and worse kepeth it, than a woman. And that this is true, see by Justice, by oracions, by writyng, and other

other treasures man getteth renowme, but (without it be flatteryng and tayle speakyng) vnto this howre by all the writyng, we can reade of fewe women or none, that either by writyng, redyng, workyng with needell, spinnyng, or by weauyng, haue gotten them any great renowme. But as I say of one, I say of an other. Certainly of diuers we rede, by kepyng them close in their houses, well occupied in their businesses, temperate in their wordes, faythfull to their husbandes, well ordered in their persons, peasible with their neighbourers, and finally beyng honest amonge their owne family, and shamfast among strangers, such haue attayned great renoum in their tyme, and left eternall memory of them after their death. I wil tell you an antiche history, as profitable to restrein our vyces, as it did than augment vertues, and it is this: The realme of Lacedemonians (as plato saieth) was a season more dissolute by the vnthriftines of women, than infamed by the crueltie of men: so that of all maner nations they were called Barbariens. What tyme Greece as a mother, called physiosophy of philosophiers, Lycurge

a wise philosopher in knowlage, and a
ryght iust kyng to gouerne, partely with
his doctrine right profitable, and part-
ly with his pure lyfe, made lawes in
the said realme, wherby he extirped all
vices, and planted all vertues. I can
not tell, whiche of these twoo were
most happie, The kynge, hauyng so o-
bedient people, or els the realme, to haue
so righteous a kynge. Among all other
lawes, for women he made one greatly
to be commended. He commanded, that
the father that died, should geue no-
thyng to his doughter. And an other,
that neither liuyng nor dyyng, he shuld
geue any money to mary hir with: to
the entent that none should mary hir for
hir riches, but all onely for hir goods-
nes: and not for hir beautie, but for hir
vertues. And where as now some be
vnmaried, because they are poore, so
than they abode vnmaried, because they
were shamefull and vicious. O tyme
woorthy to be desyred, whan maidens
hoped nothyng to be maried with they-
fathers goodes, but by the vertuous
woorkes of their owne persones. This
was the time, called the golden worlde.
Whan neither the doughter feared to

be

be disherited by the father in his lyfe, nor the father to die sorie for leauyng hir withont remedy at his death. O Rome, cursed be he that fyrst brought golde into thy house, and cursed be he that fyrst began to hoorde vp treasure. Who hath made Rome to be so ryche of treasure, and so poore of vertues? Who hath made men wed vilaines doughters, and leaue the doughters of Senatours vnmaried? What hath made, that the riche mans doughter is demanded vnwillyng, and the doughters of a poore man none wyl desyre: What hath caused that one marieth a foole with v. C. marke rather than a wyse woman with .x. M. vertues? Than I say, that in this pointe the fleshe vanquisheth the flesh, and er euer the vanitie of the malice therof is vanquished. Dow cometh it, that a couetous persone wyll sooner now a daies haue a wyfe, that is ryche and foule, than one that is poore and faire? O vnhappy women that brynge foorth children, and more vnhappy be the doughters, that are borne: which to haue theim maried, no store is set by the bloud of their predecessours, nor the fauour of their friendes, nor the value

of

of their workes, nor the beautie of their persones, nor the cleanes of their lyfe. O cursed worlde, where the doughter of a good man, without money, shal haue no mariage. But it was not wont to be so. For in the auncient tyme, whan they treated of mariages, first they spake of the persons, and after of the goodes: Not as they do at this houre, in this vnhappy tyme: for now they speake firste of goodes: and laste of all of the person. In the saied golden worlde, firste they spake of the vertues, that the persone was endowed with, and whan they were maried, in sporting, they wolde speake of the goodes. Whan Camillo triumphed vpon the Gaules or Frenchemen, he had then but one son, and he was suche one, that his person merited great laudes. And for the renowme of his father, diuerse kynges desired to haue hym to their sonne: and diuerse senatoures desired to haue him to their sonne in lawe. This younge manne, beyng of the age of xxx. yeres, and the father at. ix. was importunately stirred by his naturall friendes, and desired of straunge kynges, for to marrie him: but alway the olde Camyll repugned

the

the counsel of his frendes, and the importunitee of the strangers, whā it was demaunded, why he determined not vpon some mariage for his sonne, sith therby shoulde folow the restfull lyfe of the yonge man, and the quietnesse of hym selfe in his age. He answered: I will not mary my son, bycause some offer me riche doughters, some noble of lynnage, some yonge, and some faire: but there is none hath saied to me, I giue you my vertuouse doughter. Certainly Camil merited to haue triumph, for that he did. And he deserued eternal memory, for that he said. I saie to you Faustine all these wordes, because I see you lede your doughter to the theatres and plaies, and doe bryng hir into the Capitoll. you put hir to the kepyng of the swordе plaiers, you suffre hir to see the tumblers, and yet ye do not remembre, that shee is younge, and you not aged: ye go into the stretes without lycence, and plaie by the ryuers. I fynde no villany therein, nor thinke that your doughter is il: but I say it, bycause you geue occasion, that she shoulde not bee good. Beware Faustine, neuer trust in the case of the flesshe of younge people.

For

Nor haue no confidence in olde folkes: For there is no better waie, than to flee the occasion of al thynges. For this intent the virgins Vestales are closed vp betweene the walles, to eschew the occasions of open places, not to bee more light and foolishe, but to be more sadde and vertuouse, fleyng occasions. The yong shall not saie, I am yong and vertuous, nor the olde shall not saie, I am olde and broken. For of necessitee, the drye flaxe will brenne in the fyre, and the greene flagge smoke in the flame. I saie, that a man being a diamond enchaced among mē. yet of necessitie he ought to be quiche and mery amonge women. Mad as waxe melteth in the heate, wee can not deny, that though the wedde be taken fro the fyre, and the embres quenched, yet neuer the lesse the stones often tyme remaine hotte and brennyng. In lykewise the flesshe, though it be chastised with hotte and drye maladies, or consumed by many yeres with trauail, yet concupiscence abideth still in the bones. What nede is it to blasen the vertues, and deny our naturalitees? Certainly there is not so croked a boys, but yf he see a mate, he will braie ones or

twise. There is no man so yong nor old, but let him see yonge damoyselis, either he will giue a sigh or a wishe. In al voluntary thynges I deuye not, but that one maie be vertuous: but in naturall thynges, I confesse euery man to bee weake. When ye take the wood fro the fyre, it leaueth brennyng. When somer cometh, the cold winter ceaseth: when the sea is calme, the waues leaue their vehement mouyng, when the sonne is sette, it deslyneth not the world. I will saie that than, and not before, the flesshe will cesse to peine vs, when it is laide in the graue. For the flesshe we ar borne, and in the flesshe we lyue, & in the flesshe we shall dye, and thereby it folowith, that our good lyfe shall sooner end than our flesshe. Oftentymes some holsome flesshe for meate corrupteth in an vnholsome potte, and good wyne sometyme sauoureth of the fyst. I saie, though that the werkis of our life be vertuous, yet shall we fele the stenche of the wicke flesshe. I saie this Faustine, sith age can not resist the horte enterprise, howe can the tender membres of youth resist it? you beyng the mother, without you go the right way, she being your doughs-

ter

ter can not go the same waie. The Romayn matrones, if they wyll nourish theyr doughters well, ought to kepe these rules. Whan they see, that they woulde goe abrode, than breake theyr legges: and yf they woulde be gasyng, than put out their eies, and yf they wyll harke, stoppe theyr eares, yf they will geue or take, cutte of theyr handes: yf they dare speake, sow up their mouthes: and if they wil entend any lightnes, bury them quicke. Woordes ought to be geuen to an yll doughter: and in steede of presentes and giftes at hir weddyng, geue hyr woormes: and for hir house a graut. Take hede Faustine, if you wyll haue great ioye of your doughter, take fro hir the occasions, wherby she shall be yll. To vndersette a house, behoueth dyuers proppes: And if principals be taken awaie, it wyll fall down. I will tell you, women are so frayle, that with kepers with great peine, they can kepe theym selfe: and for a small occasion, they wyll lose altogether. O how many yl hath ther bē, not bicause they wold be so, but because thei folowed such occasions, the which they ought to haue eschued: It is for me to entre into this battel,
 but

but yet it is not in me to attayne the victorie. It is for me to entre into the sea, yet it lieth not in my handes to escape the perill. It is in the handes of a woman to enter into the occasion, and after that she is therin, it is not in hyr handes to deliuer hir from faute.

¶ Howe the emperour counsailed Faustine, to eschue the yll occasions fro hir doughter. Cap xxxvii.

Peraduenture Faustin ye will saie to me none maie seke to your doughter Lucill, but yf you here it: nor se hir, but in your sight, nor hyde hir, but you know where, nor make none appoyntment, without your knowlage. And at this houre you know not, that they that do hate hir, and would hir yll, what dishonour their tongues do speake of hir. Newe loue in yonge bloude in the springyng tyme and flourisshyng youth, is a poyson, that forthwith spredeth into euery vayne: It is an herbe, that by and by entreth the entrailes: a swounyng, that incontinently mortifieth all the membres, & a pestilence, that

sleeth

steeth the hertes, and finally it maketh an end of all vertues. I wot not what I saie yet, although I knowe what I will say: For I wold neuer blasen loue with my tongue, without I were sure hurt in mine vnderstandyng. Ouide saieth in his boke of the arte of loue, Loue is I wot not what, that cometh I wot not whens, who sent it I wot not, it engendreth I wot not howe, it is contented. I wot not wherwith, it is feire. I wot not how elle, nor I wot not wherfore. And finally loue taketh roote with out breakyng of the flesh outwarde, or percyng the entrayles inwarde. I wot not what Ouide meaneth hereby: but I trowe when he said these woordes, he was as farre banished from him selfe, as I am at this tyme from my selfe. O Faustine, they that loue together, shew the signes of their hertes by diuers waies, and in keepyng they reason and speake, and by signes they vnderstande eche other. The great voyce outwarde is signe of little loue inwarde: And the great inwarde loue keepeth silence outwarde. The entrayles within embraced in loue, cause the tongue outwarde to be mute. He that passeth

his life in loue, ought to haue his mouth close. And to the intent that ye shall not thinke, that I speke fables, I will proue this by ancient histories.

¶ We finde auncyently, that in the yere a hundred and .ix. after the foundacion of Rome, Estrasco a ponge Romayne that was dumbe, and Cicronne a fayre ladie of the Latines, that was dumbe also. These two sawe eche other on the mount Celion at a feast, and there fell in loue eche with other. And their hertes were as sore fired in loue, as theyr tonges were tied fro woordes. It was a meruaylous thyng to see theym, and fearefull to note here. The young ladie came fro Salon to Rome: and he went fro Rome to Salon, by the space of thirtie yeres together without the wittyng of any person, nor they two spake not. Than at last died the husbande of the Ladie Cicronne, and the wyfe of Estrasco. and than they discouered their loue, and treated a mariage betweene them, of whom descended the noble lynage of our Scipions, which were more liberal in the feates of armes, then their father and mother were in their youngth. Than Faustine marke this thyng:

little

litteli aduauntage it had been to haue cutte out the tounges of the two dumbe folkes, to haue remedied their loue, and not to haue cut out their hertes.

¶ Also I shall tell you of Masinissa, a woorthie knight of Numidie, and Sophariste a famous Ladie of Carthage, all onely by one sight, as they sawe eche other on a ladder, he declared his desire vnto hir: and she knowyng his luste, breakyng the ores of feare, and liftyng vp the ankers of shame, incontinent reised the sailles of their hertes, and with the shippes of their persons, they ioyned eche to other.

¶ Here maie we gather, how the first sighte of their eies, & knowlage of their persons, and the league of their hertes, and the mariage of their bodies, and the pardicion of their estates, and the infamie of their name, in one date, in one howre, in one moomente, and in one step of a ladder were agreed. What will ye that I say more to this purpose: do you not know, that Helein the Greeke, and Paris the Troyan, of two strange nacions, & of farre countreis, with one only sight in a tēple, their willes were so knitte together, that he toke hir as his

captiue, and she abode his prisoner. In Paris appeared but smalle force, and in hir but littell resistence. So that in maner, these two younge persones, the one procuryng to vanquisshe, and the other sufferyng to bee vanquisshed, Paris was cause of his fathers death: and Delayne of the infamie of hir husbande, and they bothe of their owne deathes, losse to their realmes, & sclander to all the worlde. All this loue caused one onely sight.

¶ Whan great kyng Alexander would haue geuen battaile to the Amazones, the quene capitain of them no lesse faire than stronge and vertuous, came to a riuer syde, and the space of an houre eche of theim beheldе other with their eies without speakyng of any woorde, and whan thei retourned to their tentes, the fiersenes was turned into swete wanton amorous wordes.

¶ Whan Pyrrhe the faithful defender of the Tarentines, and renoumed kyng of Epyroies, was in Italy, he came to Naples, and he had not been there but one daie, the same season there was a ladie in the same citie, named Gamaliciee, of a highe lignage, and greatly

estes

eſtemed in beautie: The very ſame daie ſhe was gotten with childe, and ſhamed throughout all Italie, and was thruſte out of the citie, and after ſhe was deliuered of childe, ſhe was ſlaine, by one of hir owne brethren.

¶ Alſo Cleopatra in the prouince of Egipte, in the wood Schin, made a goodly banket or ſolemne feaſte to Marcus Anthonius hir louer. And though ſhe was not very honeſte, yet had ſhe with hir right chaſte women: and thus the banket endured a great part of the night, and the wood beeyng thicke, the young damſels were not ſo wily to hide them, but the younge men Romaines founde them: ſo that of.ix. doughters of the Senatours, iv. were gotten with childe among the thicke buſhes: whiche thyng made a great ſclaunder in the people, and augmented the infamie of Cleopatra and minished the honeſtee of Marc Anthony.

¶ Thus as I haue ſhewed of a ſmalle noumbre, I choulde ſaie of many other. All men are not men, nor all women be not women. I ſaie it becauſe I would it ſhuld be ſaid, let it touch them that it toucheth, and let them that can, vnderſtande

stande me. There is some shyppes, that are so light, that thei will saile with a littell wynd: and there be some milles that will grynde with a lyttell water. I saie there be some women so brytell that as a glasse with a fillop wil breke and will slip with a littell myre. Shew me Faustine, haue you suffered your doughter to speke but with hir vncles, and kept company but with hir cosins? I saie in this case as muche wylenesse hath the mother as the dougter to ren in perill. Dooe you not knowe, that the quicke fyre doth not forbeare the wood be it wete or drie, but in likewise it consumeth the harde stoanes? Doe you not knowe, that the hunger excessiue causeth beastes to deuoure with their teeth the thing that was bred in their entrailes? Doe you not knowe, that the goddes made a lawe ouer all thynges: excepte on louers, because they maie not abide it? And doubtlesse it is rightwiselie dooen, that Rome condemneth not these folisshe innocentes, because they haue none vnderstandyng. The goddes geue no pein to amorous people, because they are depriued fro reason: ye knowe whan I was censore, there was a yong woman

woman that had a chylde by hir owne father, and an other that had a childe by hir sonne, and a niece by hir propre vncle: and there was sentence geuen on them, that the fathers should be caste to the Lyons, and the children buried quicke, and the mothers were bronte in the camp of Mars. The matter was so horrible to here, that I might not endure to see the cursed men. And I commanded by my decrees, that none should be so bolde to speake in suche a case any more. And if this case were fearefull to men, then certeinly the Romayn matrones ought to liue chastely. Than if the fyre of the father doo chafe the doughter, enflameth kinsefolke, and bourneth them selfe: ye may be sure, if he find after eyther cosyn or fayre sister, the flames of his concupiscence will not leaue to take holde on hir for any parentage. If this riotteuse flesshe will obey reason, than it may be, that your doughter maie speake liberally with hir cousins: but sith that passion repugneth so muche at reason, I counsell you trust not to muche in hir brethren. You see by experience, that the worme that is bredde in the tymbre, eateth the same timbre:

and

and the mothes that are bred in the clothes eateth the same cloth. I saie that sometime a man bringeth vp in his house some person, that after taketh his lyfe from him. Faustine take this for a warnyng, that I haue saide for a warnyng, and these last woordes I geue you for counsell. If you will kepe your selfe from thought, and your doughter from perill, allwaie let your doughter be occupied with some good workes. When the handes are occupied with any good exercise, than the hearte is voide from many yuell and vayne thoughtes. Euery lightnesse vsed in youth breaketh downe a loope of the defence of our life, but idelnesse, whereby our enuy entreth, is it, whiche openeth the gate to all vyces. Faustine will you wite, I see dayly the perdicion of the yong Romain doughters. For as soone as they be borne, thei presume to be amorous they as vnthoughtfull, with the recheleſnesse of the father, and wantonnesse of the mother, leaue the iuste trauaile, and take vnlust idelnes. Of yuell motion and outragious thoughtes the eies take lycence without leaue, the mynd aireth, and the will is hurte: and finally thinkyng

kyng to be the white, that amorous men shote at, they remaine as a butte full of all vices. And in conclusion there is no thyng that more rechaceth the ball of the thought (in this plaie) than the hād set a worke therwith.

¶ What thought Marcus the emperour toke for the mariage of his doughters. Cap xxxviii.

Than the good emperour Marcus, hauyng a clere vnderstandyng, and a quiete wit, toke ryght great hede of thinges that wer paste, prudently waiyng thynges present, & thynges to come. Seyng that the pardicion of princes, lay all in wyll, totally geuyng them selfe eyther to strange thynges, forgettyng theyr owne, or els to entend to their owne, nothyng regardyng straunge thynges. His heart was so agreable to hym, that neyther the highe bulinesses of them: nor for all the affayres of his house, he would not leue one of thempire vnsped. I saie this, bycause this emperor Marcus had foure dough

ters

ters, whose names were Lucylle, Pos-
sena, Mattina and Domicia. All resem-
bled they: mother in excellent beautie,
but they resembled not their father in
honestie and vertuousnes. And though
they wer in gouernaunce under they:
maystresses out of his presence, yet he
had them alwaies in memorie: and the
elder they were, the more study and
thought he tooke for theym: and whan
they came to complete age he studied to
fynd prouision for theim. It was a lau-
dable custome, that the doughters of
the officers of the senate, should not ma-
ry without licence, nor the emperours
doughters without the aduisement of
the senate. Than it was so, that one of
the said princesses his doughters, be-
yng of age, and of wyll to be maried,
hir father seyng hir importunitee, to ac-
complishe hir desire, because he was
sicke, he sent for Faustine, that she should
goe and commune in the senate. The
which with all hir power she withstode,
bycause that secretly she had treated
for an other mariage for hir doughter.
And openly she excused hyr selfe, sayyng
that hir doughter was to yonge and
tender of age: and as the goddes hadde

geuen

geuen age sufficient to the father, so had not the doughter of yeres. When themperour vnderstode this, he called Faustine to his brode syde, where as he lay, and said: Diuers thynges are dissimuled in particuler persons, the les of them is not to be suffered in them that should ensygne all other: The prince is neuer well obeyed, but yf he haue good credence among his people. I saie this Faustine, because you doe one thyng in secrete, and saie an other openly. Here in failleth the credence of so high a lady, and putteth inconuenience in the auctoritee of so gret an empire. If ye suppose my good desyres be limited in your bett for the welth of your owne children: how shuld we hope than in any of your good workes for the children of straungers? It seemeth to you better, to gyue your doughter to theim that demād hir of the mother, and refuse theim that the father both chuse. Certainely because ye be a woman, you deserue pardon: but in that you ar a mother, you aughmente your faut. Do you not know, that mariages are guided some by fortune, and some by vertues and wisedome? Suche as demād the doughters of the fathers, beleue

beleue me, their eyes beene more vpon their owne proper vtilitee, than vppon the welth of an other. I knowe wel you bryng foorth the children, but the gods will marry them, sith they haue endewed them with so mervailous beautie. Doee you not knowe, that the beautie of womeune setteth straungers on desyre, and putteth neighbours in suspection, to great men it geueth force, to meane men enuie, to the parentes infamie, and perill to the persone selfe? With great peine it is kept that is desired of many. Of trouth I say the beautie of women is nothyng but a signe for ydell folke: and an erly wakyng for theim that be lyghte: where as of the straunge desires lieth the renoume of theim selfe. And I deny not but that a light person sercheth sooner a woman with a faire face, than one of honeste lyuyng: But I say, that a woman, that is maried onely for hir beautie, many hope in hir age to haue a sory life. It is an infallible rule, that she that was maried for hir fairenesse, is hated for hir fowlenes. O what trauayle he offereth him selfe vnto, that marieth a faire woman: It behoueth hym to suffre hir

pride,

pride, for beautie and folie alwaie goe togither. Also he must suffre hir expences. For foly in the head, and beautie in the face been two wourmes, that frette the life. and wasteth the goodes. Also he muste suffre hir riottes, for a faire woman will that none but she haue hir commaundementes in the house: Also he muste suffre hir nice mynionnesse, for euery faire woman will passe hir life in plesure: also he must suffre hir presumption, for euery faire woman will haue preeminence before al other. Finally he that marieth with a faire womā, apparaileth him to a right great aduenture, and I shall tell you wherfore. Surely Carthage was neuer so enuironed with Scipions, as the house of a faire woman is with light persons. O vnhappy housbande, whan his spirite is at reste, and the body slepyng, than these light persons will come about his hous, dryyng his body with ielosy, castyng their eies to the windowes, scalyng the walles with ladders, or clymyng ouer, syngyng swete songes, plaiyng on diuers instrumentes, watchyng ot the gates, treatyng with baudes, vncoueryng the house, and waityng at euery corner ther

of. All theſe thinges in caſe thei ſhote at the pitche of the womans beautie, thei ſhaue not to ſhote at the butte of the ſorowfull houſbandes good name. And whether this be true or not, repoſte me to my ſelfe, that maried me with your bautie: and lette theim wite of my renoume: that go ſo about the cittee. I ſaie muche, but truely I feele more. Roman complaineth of the goddis for geuyng hym a foule wife amonge his deſtinies. White yuorie is not wrought but in blacke pitche: and the tender tree is not conſerued but by the hard rynd. I ſaie the man that marieth a foule wife, leadeth a ſure lyfe, let euery man chooſe as he liſteth: and I ſaie, a man that marieth a faire wife, caſteth his good name at hazard, and putteth his life in perill. All the infamy of our predeceſſors ſtode in one exerciſyng of dedes of armes: and now al the paſtime of ỹ Romain youthe is to ſerue ladies: When a woman is famed to be faire, than euery man goeth thyther, and taketh great peine to ſerue hir, ỹ the woman woll be ſeene. I ſay Faulſtin, you neuer ſaw a yong damſel Romain greatly renomed in beautie, but either in dede or in ſuſpecion there

folo-

folowed some yll name of hir. In that lytle that I haue red, I haue herd of diuers faire women, both of Grece, Italy Parthe, & Rome, and they be not put in remembraunce, because they were faire, but for the great perils and heuy chances that by their beauties fell in the world. For in maner by reason of their excellent beauties they were visited in their own landes, and by their infamy shamed through all the worlde.

When the realme of Carthage was flourishyng in ryches, and happy in armes, they ruled the common welth by wyse philosophers, and sustened it by discrete armes on the sea. Eminius the philosopher was as greatly esteemed among them, as Homer among the grekes, or Tullio amonge the Romaines, he lyued in this worlde syxe score yeres and .ii. Of the whiche happy age.lxxx. yeres he ruled quietly as a baron moste peasible of mynd: and was as straunge to women, as familiar with his bokes. Than the senate seyng he was so broken with the common welth, and withdrawen from all naturall recreations, they desired hym with great instance to be maried, because that memory

might be had of so perfect a wyse man in tyme to come: and the more importunate they were, the more he resisted, and saide, I wyll not be maried: for yf she be foule, I shall abhorre hir: if she be ryche, I must suffre hir: yf she be poore, I muste maintein hir: if she be faire, I must take hede to hir: if she be a shrew, I can not suffre hir: and the least pestilence of al these, is sufficient to slea a.C.men. With such wordes this wise man excused him selfe: and he in his age, by reason of his great studie, loste his syght. And the solitarines of his swete libertie constrained him to take company of a woman, and she had by him a doughter, of whom discended the noble Amilcares of Carthage, competitours of the Scipions of Rome, the whiche shewed no lesse worthinesse in defence of Carthage, than ours were fortunate to augment Rome.

¶ Tell me Faustine, may not suche suspection fall vpon your doughters, though their vertue succour in the perill and their honestie assure their persons? I wyll discouer a secret thyng to you. There is nothyng, that can be so quickly committed, if a woman be envyed

tanned with chast keepers, and feminine shamefastnesse. Stedfastly they desire, and with great leisure they procure these chynges, and lightly may be assigned. There is nothyng so certaine, but that the wealth of an other is matter for the owne euyll. And Faustine ye knowe, that the most honest women, by our malice are most desired. Certainely their shamfastnesse and kepyng close, been arowes in defence of our honestie. We rede not, that bloud richesse nor beautie of the vnhappy matrone Lucrece was the cause, that she was desired: But the clerenesse of hir visage, the grauitee of hir peson, the puteneesse of hir lyfe, the kepyng of hir selfe close in hir house, the exercitee of hir tyme, and credence amonge hir neighbours, and the great renoume that she had among straungers, waked the foolishe Tarquine to committe with hir aduoutrie by force. What thinke you? Wherof came this? I shall shewe you. We that be yll, are so yll, that as yll we vse the goodnesse of theym that be good. This is no faute to the ladies of Rome, but rather in the immortall goddes. Their cleane honestie accuseth our cruell malice. Faustine

you say, your doughter is to yong to be maried. Doe you not know, that the good father ought to endoctrine his sõnes from their yong age: and to prouide for his doughters whiles they be yonge. Of a trouthe, if the fathers be fathers, and the mothers mothers: assoone as the goddes haue geuen them a doughter, forthwith they ought to fix in theyr hertes a new remembrance, and not forget it, till they haue prouided theyr doughter an husebande. The fathers ought not to tary for riches, nor the mother for high lignage, the better to marie them: so what with the one and the other, the time passeth, and the doughters wax aged: and than after this maner, they be to olde to be maried, and to abyde alone, they be maydens: and to serue, they be womenne, they liue in paine, the fathers in thought, the parentes in suspection, least they should be lost. O what great Ladies haue I knowen, doughters of great senatours, and not for lacke of richesse, nor of vertues in their persons, but all onely for slacke of time, and driuyng of one houre to a nother, so that at last sodein death came to the fathers, and no prouidence

made

made for the doughters. So that in maner some were couered vnder the earthe after their death, and some buried with forgetfulnesse: Either I lye, or I haue red in the lawe of the Lodians, where as it is written. We commaund the father in maryyng tenne sonnes, to trauaile but one daie: but to mary one vertuous doughter let hym trauayle tenne yeres: yea and suffre the water come to the mouth, sweate drops of bloud, trauaile the stomake, diserite all his sonnes, lose his goodes, and aduenture his person. These wordes in this law were pitifull for the doughters, and not lesse greuous to the sonnes. For.x. sonnes by the law of men are bound to discouer, & to go ouer all the world: but the doughter, by the good law ought not to go out of the house. I saie moreouer, that as thynges vnstable thrist tallyng, so likewise it chanseth to yong damseis, whiche thinketh all their tyme lost, and superfluous vnto the daie of their mariage. Homer saith, it was the custom of ladies of Greece, to counte the yeres of their life, not fro the time of their birth, but frō the time of their mariage. As if one demanded of a Grecian hir age, she

would answere. xx. yeres, if it were. xx. yeres sith she was maried, though it were. lx. yeres sith she was borne. Affirmyng after that she had a house to gouerne and to cõmaund, that day she beginneth to liue. The melon after it is rype, and abideth still in the gardeine, can not escape, but either rotteth, or els must be gathered. I saie the mayden that tarieth long tyll she be maried, can not escape, either to be taken or infamed. I will saie no more. As soone as the grapes be ripe, it behoueth that they be gathered: so it is necessarie, that the woman that is come to perfite age, be maried and kept. And the father, that doth this, casteth perill out of his house, and bryngeth hym selfe out of thought, and contenteth well his doughter.

¶ Of a sickenesse whereof the Emperour died, of his age, and where he dyed. Cap. xxix.

MArcus the Emperour beyng olde, not onely by age, but by trauaile and great peines that he had taken and suffred in warres, In the. xviii. yere of his empire, and. lxii. yere of his age,

age, and of the foundacion of Rome. vi. c. and xi. as he was in Panonie now called Hungarie with his hoste, and Commode his sonne, at a citee called Vendebone, situate vpon a riuer, that had. iiii. M. fyre houses, and beeyng in wynter, and the waters great, and vnfait wete weather, he beyng in the fieldes about the. xxx. daie of December: sodainlie vpon a nighte, as he wente with lanternes about his campe, there toke hym a sickenes or palsie in one of his armes, so that he coulde not welde his speare, nor yet drawe his swearde, nor put on his owne clothes. Than this good Emperour charged with yeares, and with no lesse thoughtes, and wynter increasyng with many great snowes, and fresyng of the earth, there fell on him an other maladie called Litarge, the whiche put the Barbariens in great hardinesse, and his host in great heuinesse, his person in perill, and his frendes in great suspect of his helth. There was doen to him al therperience that could be found by medicines, as vnto great princes and lordes is accustomed. And all did hym no profite: by reason the maladie was greuous, and themperour charged with

yeres

yeres, and the ayre of the land was contrarie to hym, and the tyme helped him nothyng: and also he was not well intended. And as men of worship doe set more by their honour than by their lyues, and had rather dye with honour, than liue dishonored, to assure their honour, thei aduenture euery houre their liues, and had leauer haue one houre of honour, than .C. yeres of life: So thus this sicke Emperour, caused hymself to be borne all about his campe, and went to see the scarmishes, and would sleepe in the feelds: the which was not without great perill of his lyfe, nor without great trauaile of his person. Thus on a daie the Emperour, beyng in a great fever and letten bloud, heard a great clamour or noyse in the feeld: made by his men that had brought home great quantitee of forage, and their enemies set on theim, to reskue it: there was medlyng on both parties, the one to beare away, and the other to defend: The Romains for hunger, did what thei culd, to beare it awaie, And the Hungariens, from whense it came, made resistence: Thei medled so one with a nother, and their debate was so cruell, that there was slayne

slayne fiue capitaines of the Romaines, the woorste of them was more woorthe, than all the forage that thei had wonne. And of the Hungariens were so many slayne, that all the forage that thei had loste, was not so muche woorthe. Certainly considerynge the cruelitee that was there done, the profite that came thereby, was very small to the Romayns, so that there went but a fewe awaie with the forage, and of the Hungariens fewer, was left to make resistence. Themperour seyng the yll order, and that by the reason of his bloud lettyng and feuer, he was not present at that acte, he toke suche a heuinesse at his hert, whereby he fell into suche a traunce, that it was thought he had ben deade: and so he laie three nyghtes and two daies, that he could see no lyght of the skie, nor speake to any person. The heate of his sickenesse was great, and his peines greatter, he dranke muche and eate lytell, he coulde not sleepe, his face was yeolowe, and his mouthe blacke.

Somtyme he lifted vp his eies, and otentymes ioigned his handes together: He spake nothyng, and sighed many tymes. His throte was so drie, that he

he could not spitte: his eies were verie sore with sobbyng and weepyng. It was great compassion to see his death, and a great plague of his confusion to his house, and also the very great losse of his warre. There durste no man looke vpon hym, and fewer speake to hym. Panutius his Secretarie, sorowyng at his heart, to see his maister so nere his death, on a nighte in the presence of diuers other that wer there, he saied to hym.

The woordes of Panutius Secretarie to the Emperour at the houre of his death. Cap xi.

O Marcus my lorde, there is no tongne that can be stylle, nor any hearte suffer, nor eies dissimule: nor witte that can permitte it. My bloud congeleth, and my synewes drie, the boanes openeth, and my sowle wouldo passe foorthe: the ioyntes vnioigne a sonder, and my spirites are troubled, because you take not the wise and sage counsell, the whiche ye gaue to other that were symple.

I see you my lorde die, and I ought for to be sore displeased therwith. The sorowe that I feele at my herte is, howe you haue lyued lyke a wise person, and at this houre ye do like a simple man. Yenne yete a knight geueth meate to his horse, to thentent that he shuld kepe him from perill, and all that the wise man studieth for a longe season, ought to be to passe his lyfe with honour, and to take his death with great vertue.

Right dere lorde, I demaunde of you, what profite is it to the mariner to knowe the carde of the sea, and after to perish in a tourment or tempest? What profit is it to a capitaine, to speke much of warre, and after knowe not howe to giue battayle? what profiteth it to a knight to haue a good horse, and to fall in the strete? What profiteth it one to teache an other the playne way, and hym selfe to wander asyde? I saie, what profited it the force of your lyfe that you esteemed so little, many tymes seekyng your death? And at this presente howre, that you haue founde deth, you wepe, because it wyll take away your life? What thynges haue I writen with mine owne hande, beyng

your

your Secretary deuised, by your high and profounde vnderstandyng, touchyng the stroke of death? What thyng was it to see the letter, that you sent Claudine vpon the death of hir housebande? What wrote you to Anthigene, whan your sonne Verissimus died? Wherein your vertue dyd consolate his heuinesse. What high thynges did I write in the boke that you sent to the Senate, in the yere of the great pestylence: comfortyng theym after the great mortalitie passed: therin you bidde shewe theim, howe litteli men shoulde set be death, and what profite foloweth therby. And I haue seue and harde you blason death in your lyfe, and now you wepe, as though you should lyue here styll. Sith that the goddes commaunde it, and your age requireth it, and your sykenesse is the cause, and nature permitteth it, and fortune consenteth to it, and is the fatall destenie of vs all, than you must nedes die. The trauailes that come of necessitee, ought with a good courage to be abiden. For the courageous feeleth not so sore the harde strokes, as the weake that faileth, or he be fought with. you are but one mā, & not two: and

ye ought̃e to haue one death and not two. Therfore why wold ye for one lyfe haue two deathes, enterryng the body, and flyeng the spirite with syghes? After so many perilles of longe lyfe to take a sure porte, will ye lyfte vp the sailes, and entre agayne into the swalowe of the see, for to engloutte you? In the sea you haue chased the bulle, and scaped his woodnesse, and nowe ye refuse to entre into the parke, where you maie surely slea hym, you make assaute with victorie of your life, and wil dye atteryng the deathe. You haue fought. xxii. yeres in the campe of misery, and now you feare to entre into your sepulchre: you haue got out of the bushes and thornes, wherin you were closed: and nowe at this houre you stomble in the faire waie: you haue had in certain the domage of your deth: & now ye putte in doubte the profite of your death: you are entred into the campe of defiyng of the worlde: and now you wold tourne your backe, whi̅ it is tyme to put your handes to armes. xxii. yere you haue fought agaynst fortune: and now you close your eyes, bycause fortune wil strike you, I say it, bicause that

wil-

willyngly you refuse this present deth, the whiche will cause vs to haue your lyfe passed suspect. What do you, high and mighty prince? why wepe you like a childe? and why sigh you as one in dispaire? if you wepe because ye shall die, why did you laugh so much in your lyfe tyme? For of muche laughyng in the life tyme, cometh muche weppyng at the death, will you do that you can not doe, and not be contente with that you may do. The ground and pasture, that is common, you woulde ioyne to your owne, the tenoume of the comon with you applied to your owne heritage. Of a subsidy or ione, you wolde make your perpetuall right. I will shewe you who be dead. All be deade and shall die. And among all other you wolde all only lyue, will ye haue that of the goddes, that they be goddis for? That is, because you are mortall, that thei make you immortall. And you to haue that by priuilege, which thei haue by nature. I that am but symple, demaunde one thyng of you my lorde, that are ancient and wise, whiche is the greatest or least welth, to dye well or lyue yll? To liue well no man can attaine certainely. for

hunger

hunger, thirst, solitarinesse, persecution, yll fortune, sickenesses, and displeasours. This can be called no life, but rather a deathe. If an auncient manne wolde make a shewe and boste of his lyfe, from the tyme of his byrthe, to the layeng in his graue, and the bodie to shewe all that it hath suffred by dolours, and the hearte to discouer all the strokes of fortune: I thinke, that the goddes would haue meruayle therof, and men would be abaysshed therof, that the bodie could suffre so much, and the heart beare it. I holde the Grekes wisest, whiche wepe whan their children are borne, and thei syng, whan an olde man dieth: but the Romaynes syng at the byrthe of their children, and wepe whan they die olde. Certainely to laughe at the deathe of theim, that die olde, sith they die to laugh: and to wepe at the byrth of children, sith thei ar borne to wepe, and that the lyfe abideth the sentence of yll prouoketh well that the death is good. Will you, that I saie one veritee to you? I haue alwaies seene, that counsell in the wisest manne, sooneste faileth hym. Suche as would gouerne all thynges, by their opinions, of necessitee in some,

or in the moſt parte, they doote erre and faile. O Marc my dere lord, wene you that haue cauſed to burie ſo many, that ſome ſhould not burie you in lykewiſe? And as you haue ſeene the ende of their daies, ſo other ſhall ſee the ende of your yeres. Therfore me ſemeth, it were better for you to die, and to go your waie, to attcigne ſo muche wealthe, than to eſcape, and liue in muche miſerie. If you feele deathe, I haue no meruaile, ſith you be a manne. But I meruaile, that you doote not diſſimule it, ſith you are diſcrete. Thei that haue cleere vnderſtandyng, feele many thynges at their heart, that putteth them to peine, whiche thei ſhewe not outwarde, for the preſumption of honour. If all the poiſon that is in a heuie hert, were ſpredde abrode in the weake fleſh by ſmall greines, no walles ſhoulde ſuffyce vs to rubbe, nor our nayles to ſcratche. For certeinly the death is but a plaie, wherin the plaier, if he be apte, aduenturcth but lyttell, to wynne muche: and they that plaie, maie ſee weil, that this is a wylie plaie, and not a ſtronge. And that alſo, as weil they leeſe, that haue but a ſmall carde, not fearyng death, as they,

that

that with a great carde, loue longe lyfe. What thyng is death, but a trap doore, wherin the tent is closed, in the whiche is sold al the miseries of our lyfe? This the gods do change vs, fro an old filthy hous into a new. And what other thyng is the sepulchre, but a castel, wherin we be closed against thassaultes of the lyfe? Of trouth you ought more to couete, to take that you find at your deth, than the hurt of that you shall leaue in your lyfe. I demaund of you, what it is that doth you most peine, in lesyng of the life? If you peine your selfe, for Helie Fabrice your wife, because you leue hir yōg, werie not your selfe, for she is well thought on in Rome, for any perill of your lyfe. And assoone as she knoweth it, I am in certein she wyll not wepe much, though you go your way. Than you ought not to wepe for leuyng hir. These yong damsels, maried to olde men, haue euer their eis fired in the deth of their husbandes. And wholly fasten their hertes on hym, that thei thinke to marry with againe. Thei wepe with their eies, and laugh in their heartes. And thinke not contrarie, though she be an empresse, and can not find an other emperor to be hir husband,

yet she will find some other man. For if thei be so determined, they wyll chaunge their robes of silke, for a goune of cloth. I dare well say, they more despyse a yong shepard than an olde Emperour. If you care for your children, whom ye must leaue behynd you: I can not tell, why you should doo so. For if your death be displesant to theym, much more displeseth theim, that you lyue so longe. It is great peine to the childe, not to desire the deth of his father: For if he be poore it is for feare, how they should be maintayned: if he be ryche, then because he shall be his heire. They syng, and you wepe, you feare the death, and wepe because you leaue your lyfe. Doe you not knowe, that after the night cometh the dewie morynyng: and after that cometh the bright sun: and after the sun cometh a darke cloude, and after again cometh fayre weather, and after that cometh lightnyng and thunder: and than again clere ayre: Also I say, that after infancy cometh childhode, than cometh youth, and age after that, and so at last commeth death, and after death fearefull hope of a sure life. Sir, beleue me in one thyng. The beginnyng, the meane, and

the

the ende euery man hath. Certainely yf you had bene taken as the floure fro the herbe, if you had ben cut greene fro the tree, yf you had ben grafted in p;imes time: if you had ben eaten vp the sower= nesse of the vyne: I meane, if in the first youth, whan life was at the sweetest, if death had come & knocked at the gate, ye should haue had cause to be so;ie: but as now the walles are weake, and redy to fall, and the floure withered, and the beary putrified, the speare full of mosse and can not d;awe the knife out of the sheathe. Here in you haue desired the wo;lde, as if you had neuer knowen the wo;lde. iiii. yere you haue ben p;isoner in the boungeon of the bodie: and nowe whan the shakles o; giues should be ta= ken from you, you complayne: you lo;e would make newe of other newes. Lyke that thinketh it not sufficient to liue iiii. yeres in this death, o; to die in this life, he will not be content with .ix. C. C Auguste the Emperour said, that af= ter that men had liued .l. yeares, they ought to die, o; els cause them selfe to be slain, bicause that vnto that tyme, is the felicitie of man. He that liueth bey ond that time, passeth his time in beastinesse.

in greuous aches, death of his children, and losse of his goods, in importunities of his children in lawe, burying of his frendes, sustayning processe, paying of dettes, and other infinite trauailes: So that it were better with his eies closed to abide them in his graue, than with his eies open, to abide them in his life daies. Certenly it is a fortune of al fortunes, and he is right priuie with the goddes, that at fiftie yeres, leaueth his life. For all the tyme that he liueth after, is in decaying and neuer vpright, but rolling, reling, and redy to fall. O Marke my dere lorde, do you not know, that by the same waie that lyfe goeth, commeth death? This .xcu. yere that ye haue sought the one from the other. And whan ye went fro Rome, where as you left your house, ye wente to Illiriake, where you left a great pestilence: & now you are retourned into Hungarie. Doe you not know, that as soone as you wer borne, to goe into the earth, incontinent death issued out of his sepulchre, to find your life? And if you haue honored ambassadours of the strange kynges, much more ye ought to honour death that cõmeth fro the goddes. What lordshippe

can

can be lost in this life, but you shal fynd greatter in the deth. Are you not remembred, whan Iulian my sonne in lawe poisoned me, because he desired my goodes more then my life, how you, my lord for loue that you had to me, gaue me cõforte and counsell, for the death of my sorowful youth and you said to me, the goddis were cruell, in killyng of theim that be young, and pitiefull, whan they barie theim that be olde. And also you said to me. Comfort thy self Pamutius: For if thou didst liue to die, nowe than thou dyest to liue. Therfore right high and mightie prince, I say to you, as you said to me: and I counceil you, as you counsailed me, and that you gaue me. I geue you againe. Finallie, of this reaping, take the best in wooth, and let the rest abide.

¶ Howe the Emperour demaunded to haue in writyng, all that the Secretarie had saied. Cap. xii.

And as of the contentyng of the wil, oftentimes procedeth health and ease of the bodie, themperor was well satisfied with the wordes of

Panatius, whiche he eloquently vttered, and with profound counsell, hardily and familiarely, and in due time, as a good freend. Great compassion it is, to them that would die, whan it is shewed them what they ought to doe. For of the that be about the bed, some robbe hym of his money, some serue him wel, some hold the place to be his heire, some gape for giftes, some wepe for losing of him, some laugh for the gaines they haue by his death, and so in this maner the poore pacient, hauyng many, lokyng for their profite, hath no bodie to counsell hym. We se daily, that seruantes, whan they see the goyng out of the candell of life, care not for the cleansyng of their lordes vices. And thereof commeth, that as sone as he is dead, streight waie beginneth to stynke. And so I saie, that the ende of his lyfe, is the beginnyng of his infamie. All they that were there, as well the olde seruantes as the newe, belongeyng to the Emperour, capitains of warre, and other, were not a litteil abashed of the saiyng of Panatius, and they all allowed his saiyng, and saied, he was worthy to haue the gouernance of the empire. The good Emperour, all

the

the reason that Panutius spake, wepte with deepe sighes fro his hert. And because he was so sore greued, he couldē not foorthwith geue him an aunswere: At the laste he commaunded Panutius to geue him in writyng, all that he had saied, to the entent that he might studie theron. For he said, it was no reason to forget thynges so well saied. So all the rest of that night, the Secretarie occupied hym selfe, to put in writyng the same saiyng: and the nexte daie he deliuered it to the Emperour, which toke it, and looked theron all the daie: and kept it still in his handes, and often tymes redde theron. And the nexte night the Emperour sent for the Secretarie, and in open audience he said, as followeth.

The aunswere of the Emperour to Panutius. Cap xlii.

HAppie was the mylke, that thou suckedst in Dacie, and the breade that thou didst eate at Rome, and the learnyng, that thou hadst in Athenes, and thy bringeyng vp in my house. For in my life, thou hast wel serued me, and at my death, thou hast well counsailed me. I commaunde Commodus my

my sonne, to rewarde the for thy good seruice. And I praie the goddis, to recompence the for thy councell. The rewarde for diuers seruices a man maie make: but the rewarde for good councell, all the goddis haue nede to do. The greattest reward, that one freende maie do to an other, is in a great and weightie matter, to succour hym with good councel. All the trauailes of the world are weigtie, but the trauaile of death is the weightiest: all be perillous, but that is most perillous: all been great, but this is the greatest: all thynges haue an end at last by death, saufe only deth, whose end is vnknowē. He that is hurt with death, is as he, that is sicke of the sleepyng euill, hauyng a quicke vnderstandyng, and yet he knoweth no man: and many thynges beyng offred to him, he can determine vpon none, yet againe I saie, he is a true and faithfull frend, that in suche time, wil giue good counsel to his freend. All they that here this that I saie, will saie, that it is true. But I sweare, that no man can know it perfitely but he that is in case, that I am in, redie to dye. lxii. yere hath been the cours of my life, and now deth com-

maun-

maundeth me, to close mine eies, and to folowe the course of death. Moreouer, as thou knewest not the infirmitie, so thou approchest not to the cure & helthe. The dolour is not there, as thou hast made defensiues, it is not the fistula, where against thou hast geuen cautere, it is not against oplacions, that thou hast giuen syroppes, it is not in the veines, that thou hast geuen me incision: Thou hast not well healed the wounde, that thou hast stitched me. I saie, that thou must enter further in me, to knowe perfitely myne accesse. The sighes that procede from the bottome of my hert can not be vnderstanden with hearyng of theim: the goddes alonely knowe the thoughtes of the hert. Also diuers thinges are in me, that I knowe not of my selfe, no more than that is without me. O Panutius, thou accusest me, that I feare deathe. To feare it greatly, I denie it: but I confesse to feare it as a manne. Of trouth, if I should saie, that I feare not death, I must denie, that I am not made of flesshe. We see, that the Oliphante feareth the Lyon, and the Beare feareth the Oliphante, and the Wolfe feareth the Beare, and

the

the shepe feareth the wolfe, and the rat the catte, and the catte the dogge, and the dogge the man, and all onely their feare is, that they dreede to be slaine. Than if these brute beastes refuse deth, not fearyng the fightyng with furiouse spirites, nor the enioiyng with the goddes: Howe muche rather ought we to feare the death? For we are in feare to be torne in pieces with the furies in their peines, or to be receiued in pleisure with the goddes. Therfore I saie, that the naturall feare of death, I haue ouercome with the bridell and liberties of reason. Thinkest thou Panutius, that I see not my grasse wasted, and my grapes gathered, that my house breaketh, and that I haue nothyng lefte, but the stocke of the grapes, the skynne of the flesche, and but one onely blaste of all my life? Thou seest well, that by the tokens, the exercise is seene. And nettes be caste in the riuers, and in the parkes bulles ben chased. I say that the rumour of death holdeth in sauetie the life that is in me, at this houre redy armed against death. I make battaile with death, at this houre barayne and naked of life: and so redie to enter into

the

the sepulchre: at this houre I shall enter into the campe, where as I shall not be gored with bulles, but shall be eaten with wormes: and finally, I shall goe frō whens I can not flee. Thus I hope abidyng death. And this ß saie, because thou shalt knowe, that I knowe it, and that thou shalt fele, that I fele. And to the intent thou liue vnbeguiled, I wyll tell the a secrete. The nouelties that thou haste seene in me, as in abhorryng of meat, bireuyng of slepe, liuing alone, werines of cōpany, drownyng in sighes and pastyme in weepyng. Thou mayest well thynke, what tourment oughte to be in the sea of my hert, whē such tremblynges and mocions of earth and raynes are set in the erth of my body. Shall I shew the, wherfore my body is in this thought, and my hert in suche trouble? The cause why I suffre death so greuously, is that ß leaue my sonne Commode in this lyfe, in a perillous age for hym, and suspicious for the empire. By the floures the fruites are knowen, and the vines in burgenyng, by the colt the horse is knowen. whether he shall bee meke or stubborn for labour or cariage: and in the youth, the yonge man is knowen

wen: and by the litteli that I see in my life by my sonne Comode, I feare me it wyll be lesse after my death. Thou knowest not why I saie thus. And I saie it not without cause: for my sonne Commode is very yong, and yet younger in witte. He is of an yll inclinacion, but he be forced: he gouerneth hym selfe by his owne witte and vnderstanding, as though he were a manne of experience: he knoweth but litteli, and caretth for nothyng. Of the tyme passed he hath no knowlage: all oneiy he occupieth him selfe with the time present. Finally, by that I see with myne eies, and thinke in my hert, I feare me the person of my sonne shall be in perill, and the memorie of his fathers howse perisshe. Faustine his mother hath tostered him so delicately: and by a harde stony ground he hath a great way to go. He entreth as now alone into the path of youth without any guyde. I feare me he shall goe out of the right waie, and wander in the bussbes and thornes of vices. O Banutius, hearken what I saie, I saie it not without teares, thou seest that my son remaineth riche, young, and at libertie. Richesse, youthe

ſolitarines, and libertee been. iiii. peſtilences, that enpoyſone the prince, and waſte the common wealthe: it ſleeth them that be alyue, and infameth them that be dead. Beleue me one thyng, diuers graces are requiſite to ſuſteine diuers vertues. With the faireſt women the briotheli howſes are peopled, the moſte villaynes are made ruffians: the moſt hardie are robbers in wooddes: the quickeſt of vnderſtandyng oft proue fooles: and the moſt ſubtil become theues, I ſaie, that ſuche as are cloathed with diuers graces of nature, lacke the furres of acquired vertues.

¶ We maie ſaie, thei bold in their handes a knyfe, wherewith thei ſtrike and hurt them ſelues: fire on their ſhulders, wherwith they byen: and a corde about their necke, wherewith they hange: daggers at their ſtomacke, wherwith they are ſlayne: thornes at their feete, wherewith they are pricked: a ſtonie waie afore their eies, where thei ſtomble, and ſtombling fall, and fallyng thei leſe their life, and win death. The great trees, of whō we haue fruite in winter, and ſhadow in ſomer, firſt be plāted the rotes faſt in the cutrailes of the erth, or

euer

euer their wauering boughes at aduen-
ture in the wynde. ¶ Marke Panutius
marke well. The manne that from his
youth hath set before hym the feare of
the goddes, and the shame of menne, is
habited in vertues, and he that accom-
panieth with theim that be vertuouse,
maintaigneth trouth to euery man, and
iyueth without preiudice of any man.
¶ Malicious fortune maie somtime cleue
the barke of the wealth of suche a tree,
wyther the flowre in his youth, breake
the leaues of his fauoure, gather the
fruicte of his trauayle, breake downe a
bough of his offices, and bowe downe
the height of his counsell: yet for all the
strokes that the wynde can strike, it can
not be pluched vp by the rote. Certeinly
the sonne that the father hath indued
with graces, and the son applyng hym
in vices, oughte not to be borne in this
worlde: and if he be borne, to be buried
quicke. For the father sweate by daie,
and watche by nighte, to leaue honour
to their children, whiche the fathers
bye of the goddes with sighes, and the
mothers deliuered of them with peine,
and bryng theim vp with trauayle: and
the child proueth so, that he geueth gre-
uous

nous age to the father in his lyfe, and great infamy after his death. I consider well, that the prince Comode, beyng yong and I olde, against his will, forbare vices, and I feare me, that after my death, he will haue vertues. I remembre diuerse of his age, haue inherited the empire, which were so hardy in their liues, that thei deserued to be called tyrantes after their dethes. Example of Denis renoumed tyraut of Sicil, which hyred theim that couide inuent vices, as our Rome rewarderh theym that conquere realmes. What greatter tyranny can be in a tyrant, than to make most priuy to hym, the that be vicious: Also I forget not the foure kynges, that succeded after great Alexãder, as Ptholome, Antiochus, Seleucus, and Antigonus, Whiche the Greke called great tyrantes: All that Alexander had gotten with renoumed triumphes, thei lost by their viciousnes. And in this maner the worlde that Alexander had deuided among them. iiii. came to the handes of mo than foure hundred. For Antigonus sette so litell by that had coste his lorde Alexander so muche, and was so lyght in his aege, and so bolde in his

realme, that in mockerie in the stede of a crowne of golde, he ware a garlande of yuie: and in stede of a scepter, he bare a thystell in his right hande: and after that maner, he would sitte among his men, and whan he spake to straungers. I laie shame to the yong man so to doe, but I meruaile that the sadde and wise men of Grece suffered it.

¶ I remember also Caligula, the fourth Emperour of Rome, a young man, in whose time it was harde to know, whiche was the greatter, either the disobedience of the people to their lorde, or the hatered, that the lorde bare to the people. And this yong prince went so farre out of the waie in his youth, and was so farre wide from reason in his tyrannies, that euery man studied, how to take his life from hym: and he studied to slea euery man. He wrote these wordes in a table of golde: Would to God that all Rome had but one head, to the intente that with one stroke, I might strike it of.

¶ I also remembre Tiberie, sonne adoptiue of good Auguste, called August, because he augmented Rome. But this good olde prince did not so muche augment

ment it in his lyfe, but this yong successoure destroied it muche more after his death. The hate that the Romaine people had against Tiberie in his life, was right well shewed after his death. For the same daie that he died, or whan he was slaine, the people made diuers processions, and the Senatours offered great giftes in the Temples, and the priestes offered great sacrifices to theyr goddis, to the intent that they should not receiue the soule of the saide Tiberie into their glory, but to send it to furies of hell.

¶ Also I mynde Patrocle, the seconde kyng of Corinthe, whiche inherited the realme, beyng but .xvi. yere of age, and he was so vicious of his body, and so liberall of his mouthe, that where as his father helde the realme .lx. yere, he possessed it but .xxx. daies.

¶ Also the ancient Tarquin the proude the seuenth kyng of Rome, whiche was right goodly in gesture, right valiaunt in armes, and of a cleane bloudde, as an vnhappie prince, defyled all his vertues with naughtie liuyng, in suche wise, that he conuerted his beautie into lecherie, his power into tyrannie, for

the villany that he did to Lucrece, the chaste lady of Rome, whereby he loste not onely his realme, but the name of Tarquine was banisshed for euer out of Rome.

¶ I remembre cruell Nero, whiche inherited, and died yonge: and in him ended the memorie of the noble Cesars: and by hym was renewed the memory of Antigones the tyrantes. Whom thinkest thou this tiraunt woulde suffre to lyue, whiche slew his owne mother? Tell me I pray the, what herte is that of a childe, to slea his owne mother, to open the brestes that he sucked, to shed the bloude of hir, that nourisshed hym in hir armes, and to beholde the entrailes, wherein he was fourmed? What thynkest thou, that he would not haue dooen, sith he committed suche an yll dede? The day that Nero slew his mother, an oratour sayed in the senate, that Agrippine his mother had deserued death, for chyldyng suche a chylde in Rome. These three daies, that thou hast sene me so altred in my mynde, all these thynges came before me: and I haue drawen theim in to the depenesse of my herte, and disputed theim. This

sonne

sonne of mine holdeth me in the goulfe of the sea, betweene the waues of feare, and the ankers of dispaire, hopyng, that he should be good, because I haue nourished hym well, and fearyng that he should be yll, because his mother Faustine hath brought him vp wantonly, and the yonge man is inclined to yll. And as ye see a thyng made by artifice perishe, and a naturall thyng lasse: I am in great feare, that after my deathe, he will tourne that waie, that his mother hath childed him, and not as I haue nourished him. O how happie were I, if I had neuer a chylde to leaue behind me to be Emperour: Then a childe might be chosen among chyldren of good fathers, and I should not haue been troubled with him, that the goddes haue geuen me. Panurius, I demaunde one thyng of thee, whether thou callest most fortunate, Vaspasian, the naturall father of Domitian, or elles Nerua, the father adoptiue of Traiane? Vaspasian was good, and Nerua very good, and Domitian was of all other most cruell, and Traiane the myrrour of all clemencie. Thanregard howe Vaspasian in the fortune to

haue children was vnhappie, and Nerua in the misfortune to haue children was happie. I knowe not why these fathers desire to haue children, sith they been the occasion of so muche trauaile. O Panutius, I wyll saie one thyng to the, as a frende to a frende (as thou knowest well we be in this worlde) I haue liued.lxii. yeres, in whiche time I haue redde many thynges, and haue hearde, seen, desired, atteined, possessed, suffred, and rested muche, and now at this time I must die: and of all thyng I shall beare nothyng awaie, because bothe I and it are nothyng. Great businesse the hearte hath to serche for these goodes, and great trauaile to come to them, but without comparison the greattest dolour is at the houre of the death, to departe and leue them. What greatter disease can be to the bodie, than sodainly to be surprised with enemies? what perill of the sea, or losse of frendes, can be egall, to see a vertuous man draw to his death, to leaue the sweatte of his face, the auctoritee of the Empyre, the honour of his person, the compagnie of his frendes, the remedy of his dettours, the rewardyng of his seruauntes, and

to

to leaue it to a childe, that hath not merited it, nor hath not the power to wyll to merite it.

¶ In the ninth table of the lawes were these wordes written: We commaund & ordein, that euerie father, who in the opinion of all men is good, shal disherite his sonne, that is yll in euery mans opinion. Also euery chylde, what so euer he be, that disobeieth his father, or robbeth any temple, or hurte any widowe, so that she bleede, flee fro the battayle, or do any treason to a straunger, who so euer is founde in any of these fiue cases, let hym be banished for euer the habitacion of Rome, and caste out fro the heritage of his father.

¶ In good soothe this lawe was good, and in the tyme of Quintus Cincinate, it was ordeigned: and nowe by vs, whiche bee vnhappie, it is cleane lefte and forgotten. Panutius, without doubte I am weery to speake, and also I haue suche an impediment in my stomache, that I wante breath: or elles I coulde shewe thee all by order, if mine vnderstandyng failed me not, how many Parthiens, Mediens, Assiriens, Caldiens, Indiens, Egyptiens, Hebrues,

Greekes and Romains, haue left their children poore, and might haue left them riche: and all was because they were vicious: and other children that were verie poore, were left riche, because they were good and vertuous. I sweare to the by the immortall goddis, that whan I came fro the warres betwene the Parthiens and Rome, and that the triumph and glorie was geuen to me, and my sonne confirmed to bee Emperour: I would the Senate had left me my sonne Commodus poore, with al his vices, and that I had made the Senate heire and lorde to the empyre: and to haue chastised hym to the exaumple of all the world. I will that thou knowe, I shall carie fiue thynges with me out of this worlde entermedled, the whiche is great sorowe to my heart. The first is, that I haue not determined and iudged the pleé and processe of the noble wydowe Drusia, with the Senate, seeyng that she is verie poore, and hath no bodie to doe hir iustice: The seconde is, because I do not die in Rome, to thentent that I might cause to be cried and proclaimed euerie where in Rome, ere I died, to witte yf

any

any complayned on me: The thirde is, that where as I did slea fourteen tyrantes, that vndid the countrey, that I had not as well banished all the Pyrates that kept the seas: The fourth is, that I lefte my dere sonne Verissimus dead: And the fifth, that I haue lefte alyue, as heire to the Empyre, my sonne Commodus. O Panutius, the greatteste happe, that the goddis can geue to a man (not couetous but vertuouse) is to geue hym renoume in his lyfe, and a good heire to conserue hym after his death. Finallie to conclude, I praie to the goddis, if I shall haue anie parte with theim, that if by my sonnes offences, Rome be sclaundered, and my renoum: minished, and my house lofte by his life, that they will take awaie his life yet er I dye.

What the Emperour saied to the maisters of his sonne, and to the rulers of the Empyre. Cap. xliii.

I see you auncient fathers and noble Romaines, and right faithfull seruauntes take peyne and sorowe, for that I muste yelde me to deathe, and leaue

leaue this lyfe and treate with my Sepulchre. Ye sorow for my sorow, ye are tormented with mine anguishe, and perned for my peine: it is no meruaille. For the cleere vnderstandyng of the pure bloud of true and faithful frendes, is to double their trauayles, and to weepe for other: if one brute beast mourne for an other, much more ought one humain creature to sorow for an other. And this I saie, because I know by the teares of your eies, the feelyng of your hertes. And sith that the greatest rewarde for any benefite, is to know it, and thanke the partie therof, as muche as I can, I thanke you. And if my weake thankes be not correspondente to your pitiful weepyng, I requite the goddes, after they haue taken awaie my lyfe, to rewarde you for my duetie. It is great pleasure for the familie to know their maister goe with the goddis, and great peine to him to leaue them. For compaignie of many yeres is lothe to leaue the life. In my life tyme I haue beeen with you as I oughte to doee, and as now I must doe as I maie. The goddis will take my soule away, Comodus my sonne thempire, the sepulchre my bodie,

and

and ye my ſpeciall freendes my hearte. And ſothly it is reaſon, that ſith ye wer in the lyfe my heartes, that it be yours after my deth. And in that I wil ſpeake more particuler, this night ſhall be our reaſonyng. Nowe my herty freendes ye ſee, that I am come to the ende of my laſte iourneie, and to the beginnyng of my firſte iourney with the goddes. It is reaſon, that ſith I haue loued you in tyme paſte, that ye beleue me nowe. For the tyme is come, that ye can demaunde nothyng of me: nor I haue nothyng to offer you: nor myne eares as nowe can not here flatteries, nor my heart ſuffre importunities, if ye neuer knew me, know me now. I haue been he that I am, and am he that hath been, in tymes paſt lyke vnto you, ſomewhat: now ye ſee I am but litel, and within a litell while I ſhall be nothyng. This daie ſhall ende the life of Marke your freende, this daie ſhall ende the lyfe of Marke you parent, this daie ſhall ende the fatal deſtinies of Marke your lorde, this day ſhall end the ſeignorie of Mark your Emperour, and this daie ſhall end his Empyre. I haue vanquiſhed many, and nowe I am ouercome with death:

I am he that hath caused many to die, and I can not as now geue my selfe one daie of lyfe: I am he that hath entered into chariottes of golde, and this daie I shall be laied on a biere of woodde; I am he, for whom many haue long mourned, and this daie they wepe: I am he that hath had compaignie in all exercises, and this daie I shall be geuen to hungrie wormes: I am Marcus greatly renowmed, that with famous triúph mounted into the high capitoll, and this daie with forgetfulnesse I shall descend into the sepulchre. I see nigh with mine eis, that was farre hid in my hearte. And as the goddes be fauorable to you, in this worlde, and equall and fauourable to me in an other worlde, as my flesshe neuer toke pleasure to passe this lyfe, but my heart was sodeinly taken with the fare of deathe, than take no peine for me, for either I must see the ende of you, or you of me. I yeld great thankes to the goddes, that they take awaie this olde persone to rest with theim, and leaue you young for to serue in the empyre. For there is no comparison for to speake of death to the life, nor to eschue the death at the houre therof.

And

And yet I wyll not denye, but I do feare death, as a mortall man. When the lyfe paſſeth, there is no prudence in a prudent, nor vertue in a vertuous, nor lordſhyp in a lorde, that can take away the feare of the ſpirite, nor peine of the fleſh At this tyme the ſoule and the fleſſhe, are ſo combined and ſo conglutinate togither, and the ſpirite with the bloude are ſo annexed, that the ſeparacion of the one from the other is the moſt terrible, and the laſt terrible of all terrybienes. Certeinly it accordeth vnto good reaſon, that the ſoule depart doloroufly, leauyng the fleſſhe vnto wourmes, and the bodie as enuious to ſee the ſoule goe and ſporte with the Goddes. O what litteil thought we take in this lyfe, vntill we fall groueliyng with our eies vpon death. Beleue me, Syth I haue paſſed from whenſe ye be, and haue experimented that ye dooe ſee, that is, the vanities of vs that are vaineis ſo agreable to vs, that whan we beginne to lyue, we imagine, that our lyfe wyll endure a hole worlde, and whan it is ended, it ſemeth vs to be but a puffe or a blaſte of wynde. And becauſe than ſenſualitee peyneth for

ſenſi-

ſenſibilitee, and the fleſche for the fleſh, reaſon guided with theim that be mortall telleth me, that it peineth not with the departyng. If I haue lyued as a brute beaſt, it is reaſon that I die as a diſcrete man ought to doe. I diyng this daie ſhall die all my ſickeneſſe, hungre ſhall die, colde ſhall die, all my peines ſhall die, my thought ſhall die, my diſpleaſure ſhall die, and euery thyng that geueth peine and ſorowe. This day the night ſhall be taken away, and the ſunne ſhine bright in the ſkie. This day the ruſt ſhall be taken from mine eies, and I ſhall ſee the ſunne clerely: This day the way ſhall be made ſmoothe for to goe right: this is, the daie ſhall ende the iourney, wherin I ſhall not bryde the ſtaies of Fortune. I thanke the goddes immortall, that haue ſuffred me to liue ſo clerely and ſo longe a time. This daie I ſhall haue an ende of all vnhappy deſtenies of enuious Fortune, and not they of me. Of trouthe yf the Goddes haue commaunded my fleſche to be hidden in the Sepulchre, and to be as mortall: yet if they be iuſte and dooe well, they wyll make my renoume to be immortall, becauſe I haue lyued well

well. Than sith I chaunge this werie life and compaignie of menne, for the swetenesse of the goddis, and the doubtes of fortune for this sure life, a great and continuall feare for perpetuall peace, and this yl and naughtie corrupt lyfe, for good renoume and glorie, I thinke verilie this shoulde be none yll chaunge.

¶ It is now three score and two yeres sith the earth hath sustayned and fedde the earth of my bodie: It is now tyme that the earth knowlage me for hir son, and I will also take hir for my mother. Verelie it is a pitieful mother, that wil now take me into hir entrailes for euer, sith that I haue so long space troden hir under my fete. And yet though that I were as I am, for to be as she is, I am in certeigne that she would kepe me surer among hir wormes, than Rome among the Senatours.

¶ And all thoughe it bee peinefull to you, if it please the goddis to haue it thus no man can excuse nor scape it.

I should be right well eased, if this web were broken, and my possession taken in the Sepulchre. Than should I haue the firste tryng propre of myne owne,

and

and perpetual without any feare of lesyng therof. All thynges mortall, that mortall folkes haue, and the enuye of them that be enuyous may be broken, except the death and the sepulchre, the which are priuileged from enraged hongre of enuy. I se you well, shedyng teares from your eies, and reyse heauy sighes from the depenes of your hertes. Wyll ye not that I shuld desyre death, sith the phisicions geue me but three houres of lyfe? and there are conteined in me. iii. M. yeres of peines, the length whereof is a cironisme of death. And all though our debilitee be weake, yet for al that our honour is so sensible, that at the houre of death the more that the bones dischargeth them of the fleshe, the more is the hert charged with thoughtes. In maner that whan the sinewes vntie theim from the bones of the body, than newely they tye agayne a sore knotte to the hert. Now let vs leaue speakyng of that that toucheth particularly my selfe, and speake we in generall of it, that is conuenient to a younge prince, and to you that are his tutours and maisters.

¶ Ye se here my sonne Comodus onely

prince

prince and heire abidyng for the herita
tage of the empire neyther for beyng
good, that he merriteth preise, nor for be
yng vil, reprefe. For he hath taken his
naturalitee of the goddis, and his nurs
ture amonge you. Diuers tymes whan
he was a child, ye toke hym in your ar
mes, to thentent that now he is a man,
ye shuld set him in your hertes. Hither
to he hath taken you for his maisters,
and now at this tyme, he must repute
you as his fathers: and whiles I liv
ued, ye held hym for your prince in nos
rishyng hym, for your emperour in ser
uyng hym, and as your parente in hel
pyng hym, and as your son in teachyng
hym. Hitherto ye only held him charge
as father, mother, and maisters: he is
nowe as a new shippe put this daie in
to the right see, sterying to the bottom
lesse swalow, where as the sayles of
prosperitee will make hym fal, and the
roches of vnhappynesse wyll drowne
hym. Than among so many vnfortu
nate wyndes and vnstable waters, ther
is great necessitee of good ores. Sure
ly I am very sorie for the empire, and
haue great compassion of this younge
prince, and sacre as wouldbe his welth,

U shall

shall more bewayle his lyfe than my death. For scapyng fro the sea, I see my selfe at a good sure port, and upon main lande, and leaue him the sweat and treasuryle. For as yet he knoweth not how to aduenture to saile on the sea: nor yet knoweth not whether he shal abide the age of my long experience, nor whether he shal be a reasonable emperour or no. But what shall sorowfull Rome doo, whan it hath nourished a good prince, and that fatal destinies maketh an end of hym? Or that by enuie of them that be yll, he is slayne: or the cruelnes of the goddes taketh hym away: or that the bodie by his owne propre handes bee lyfte vp in suche wise, that in the experiment of princes, all the lifetyme parteth in bewaylyng of the youth of yong princes, and the grauites of their auncient princes passed. O yi those princes beleued at the beginnyng of their Empire, other kynges that ar layed in the worlde, how they be taughte whan it is so importable for one manne without charge to rule so many realmes, and he dooyng nothyng but take their goodes, robbe hym of his renoume, banish their persons fro hym, and be to ende

his

his lyfe, and his subiectes augmente their sorowes: and sith he is but one, he can dooe no more than one, though diuers hope that he dooeth for all.
Regarde in what misaduenture a prince liueth, whan the least villiane in Italy thinketh, that all onely for hym, and on him alone, the prince setteth his eies. And sith the worlde is so chaungeable, and the people so vntruly, the date that a prince is crowned and crasted with a sceptre royall, the same day he submitteth his goodes to the couetous, and all his estate to the sklaunce of other. Thus than in this the goddes shewe their power For all the vnderstandynges are tached to one seet wyll. The semyng of all they condemne, and alowe but one. They geue the dominacion to one, and the subiection to many. To one they geue the chastisement of all, and not al to the chastisement of one. For the taste of many, they geue meate but to one: the sauour whereof is swete to some, and soure to other: to some remaineth the boane, and to some the flesshe, at the least some be drowned and other be hindred, and at the end all haue an end. I would de-

maunde of you, that be moſt familiar, what is the crowne of thempyre, or the ſceptre of golde, or the colour of perles or precious ſtones, or rubes of Alexandre, or veſſell of Corinthe, or charriottes of triumph, or what offices of Conſules or dictatours are deſired in chaunge of their reſt: for it is certaine, they can not attain to the one, without leſing of the other. And this is the cauſe that there be ſyll mariners, & to hardy pilottes, for they flee fro the ſea to the lande, and fro the lande to the ſea. One thyng I wyll ſay, that is againſt my ſelfe: euery man hateth warre, and no man ſeketh for peace. All ſorow for one that is angred, and none is content to appeace, all would commaunde, but none wyll be commaunded. this hath been in the worlde paſſed, and now at this preſent tyme men be ſo lyght, that they rather chooſe to commaunde with peryll, than to obey with reſt. Seeing that my daies are diminiſhed, and my ſyckenes augmented, ſuſpectyng than that I ſee now, whan I retourned fro the warre of Sicill, I determined to make my teſtament. the whiche ye may ſee here: Open and beholde it, and therby ye

ſhall

shall see, how I leaue you to be maisters of my sonne, yet in loue and fidelitee ye be together all as one. Great perill the prince is in, and the common welth in an yll aduenture, where as be many intencions among the gouernours. Certainly the princes are glorious, and the people well fortunate, and the Senate happie, whan all agree in one counsell, and that the counsaillours be auncient, and many of them, and all their intencions agree vpon one thyng. Whan this was in Rome it was feared and dredde of tyrauntes, hauing their consultacions approued with. iii. C. barons. And though their reasons were diuerse, yet their willes and intentes were all one for the common welth. I desire and coniure you by the goddis, that ye be al frēdes in conuersacion, and confourmable in counsell. All the weake debilities in a prince may be suffred, except yll counsell: and all defautes of counsellers are tollerable, except enuie and yre. Whan the frettyng wourme called a moth entereth among theim, it causeth perill in iustice, dishonour to the prince, sclander in the commons, and partialitee in the superiours. The counsaillour that hath

his mynde ouercome with yre, and his hert occupied with enuy, and his wor-des outragious to a good man, it is re-son that he lose the fauour of the god-dis, his priuitie with the prince, and the credence of the people, for he presumeth to offende the goddis with yll intencio-on, to serue the prince with yll counsell, and to offende the common welth with his ambicion. O how ignorant ar these princis, that take hede of suche herbes and venims, that might poyson them in their meates, and care not for the poy-son that they of their priuy counsayle doe geue them? Doubtlesse there is no comparison, for the herbes and poisons can be giuen but on one daie: but the ve-nym of yll counsel is giuen euery houre. Venym is defended by the horne of an vnicorne, by triacle, and otherwise by vomites: but the poison of yll counsell hath no remedy, and lesse defensiues. And finally I saie, that the venim gy-uen by an enemie can but slea one em-perour in Rome, but the poyson geuen by hym that is most priuy to euill couns-sell, sleeth the emperour, and destroieth the common welth. And where as ue-ry vertuous prince seeketh more by per-

petuall

petuall renoume, than this fallible life, ye being gouernours of the empire, and maisters to my sonne, yet that owe him yll will, haue not so much power ouer his lyfe, as ye haue vpon his renoume. Therefore if he be awaked by his enemies straungers, much rather he ought to be awaked among his domesticall frendes. Oue thyng I commaunde as to my seruauntes, and I desire you as my frendes, that ye shewe not your selfe so priuie openlie, as ye be in secrete, to the entent that some seeme not as naturall sonnes, and other as hired seruauntes. He that is vertuous, ought to haue great regard to the profite of his lord secretly, and to be meke of conuersation with euery man openly. Els his priuitie wil not long indure, and the hate of the prince with the people will increase. Oftentymes I haue redde of our predecessours, and I haue seene it in the present Romaines, whan many hold with one, than one holdeth but litell with diuerse, and lesse with many, the whiche keepeth their wils les as farre of, as the persons be nigh. And sith the vnstedfastnesse of the tyme, and vnstablenesse of Fortune neuer leaueth

any thyng in one case, but all is as in maner of a dreame, the most sure purchase is to flee fro perill, for than whan the princes haue passed their pleasures intermedled in trauailes, thei serche for many, and find not one. Therof cōmeth that one presente, for feare will withdrawe hym, and an other out of fauour and absente, will not come. I will shewe you one thyng, the whiche you shall alwaie put in my sonnes memorie: They that in our trauailes haue determined of a long season to applie theim, we oughte to winne their good willes. The wylie labourer in one yere laboureth to geat cornes togither, and in an other yere he soweth and gathereth. Be not to presumptuous, for the presumpcion of an ancient prince, fordoeth the auctoritee of the young prince: yet for all this, dispaire nor rebuke him not to muche: For the lacke of maners in the state of a lord ingendreth unshamefastnesse in him, and bolonesse to the seruaunt. I haue left in my testament the prince Comodus for your sonne, and you for his fathers. But I will and commaunde, that euery manne knowlage hym to be their lord, and to be at his commaundement.

ment. And ye my other seruauntes and subiectes to be in his obedience. and in all his high businesses to be well guided as his frendes and louers. Iustice ought to be seene to. by wise orateurs, according vnto the opinion of you that be his gouernours. And almoste the determination to be deuen by the prince, whiche is lorde of all. One counsell I wyll geue you (and if you fynde it yll, blame me afore the goodis) whereby the Empyre of my sonne shall be stable and permanent in Rome, and your priuitee sure in his house, if your counselles be moued by reason, and his will ruled by your counselles. I desire fore that ye be not couetous: and therfore I haue geuen you diuers giftes and thanckes in my lyfe to take couetousnesse from you afore my death. It were a monstruous thyng and verie diedfull, that suche as oughte to refrayne couetise fro straungers, to haue their owne handes open for their owne proper lucres. The vertuous priuie men ought not to do all the yll that they maie, nor to desire all that they maie atteigne vnto, to the entente that the prince geue them so muche goodes for the profite of their houses, as

peine

peine and enuie of the people to their personnes. And as in meane shyppes men scape best in a mean sea, soner than in great carrackes in the waues of the roryng and impiteous seas: in likewise such as be in meane estate among them that be but meanly enuious, liue more surely, than such as ar set in high estate and priuitie beyng riche, to be passioned among enemies, that disdeinfully wold put theim vnder. It is a notable rule among wyse menne, and an infallible experience among theim that be good, and I thinke that by heryng therof, the yll shall knowelage it: The glorie of one among great menne maketh stryfe, suspection in theim that be egall, and enuie among theim that be meane.

One thyng, that thei that gouerne wel, ought to haue, is liberalitee. The lesse ye be couetouse, the more ye shall be liberall. For with the rage of couetousnesse, the right of Justice is minished. It is long tyme sith I determined to geue you the gouernyng of the Empire, and the nourisshyng of my sonne. And to haue prouided to haue geuen you largely of my goodes, to put the couetyng of other mennes goodes from you.

I warrant you one thynge: if couetous nes be among you, and be enuied of your neighbours, you shall liue in peine, and your heartes shall be peined with other mens busines, and your myndes shall be euer in suspecte. Than shall ye folow the Justice of other, where as ye shall see your owne propre welthe. One counsell finally I wyll geue you, whiche I haue taken alway my selfe. Neuer commit your honours to the mishappes of fortune: nor neuer offer your selfe to perill with hope of remedie. For suspectious fortune hepeth alwaies hir gates wide open for perill, and hir walles been high, and hir wickets narow to find any remedie. And because I fele my selfe sore trauailed, I praie you suffer me to rest a litteil.

How the emperour at the houre of his death, sent for his sonne, and declared to him, who shuld gouerne the empire. Ca. xliii.

Thus a great parte of the nighte passed, and the daie beganne to breake: and the lyfe of this good emperour beganne faste to drawe to an ende:

ende: yet for all that he lefte not the remembrance of suche thynges as should be ordered after his death. There were that time in the warre with him diuers right excellent men Senators of Rome: and in all thynges he shewed him selfe right wise, and specially he wold neuer haue any vicious person in his house. He had euer in his compaignie .i. gentilmen knyghtes, and in eche of them he might haue put trust to gouerne Rome. Oftentimes this good emperour would say, that princes liued more surely with the gatheryng to theim men of good liuyng and conuersacion, than with treasure of monete stuffed in their cheastes. Vnhappie is the prince, that esteemeth him selfe happie to haue his coffers full of treasure, and his counsell full of men of yll liuyng. These malicious and yll men make princes poore: and a perfecte man sufficeth to make a wholle realme riche. Surely this emperour said well. For we doe see daily, that what the father hath gotten in fiftie yeres, the sone loseth in halfe a yere. Than chosyng among many a fewe, and of fewe to take the best, this emperour appointed out vi. notable barons: Thre of them to be mais

maisters of his son, and .iii. to be gouer-
nours of the empyre. One was called
Partinax, which after was emperour,
an other was called Pompeiano, hus-
band to his doughter, as sure in couns-
sell, as he was aged in yeres: The .iii.
Unco Patrocle, of the auncient stocke
of the Pompeis, whiche was no lesse
cleane in his lining than his heares wer
white: The .iiii. was called Andrisco,
which in goodlines of his gesture, high-
nes of body, vertue of courage, and
wysdome in consaille, none was egall
to hym in Rome: The .v. was named
Bononius, whiche at that tyme was
consule, and in the ancient lawes very
expert. The last was called Juan Ma-
rius, the good, and he was called the
good because that in .ix. yere neuer man
sawe hym do any yll workes, nor harde
hym speake any yuell woorde, nor do a-
ny thyng, but it was profitable to the
common welth. Though in case they
were all egall in gouernyng: yet I saie
these last three were principall. For Ju-
an Marius particularly was left to bee
chefe capitaine of the army, and to hym
was deliuered all the treasure, and the
testamente was put into his handes:

and

and with soze wepyng the emperour re-
commended to him the prince his sonne.
Than whan the peine of his sickneſſe en-
creaſed, and that he loked for the howze
of his death, he commounded to awake
his sonne Comodus, whiche without
any care was fast a sleepe, and whan he
was brought into the presence of his fa-
ther, it was great pitie to see the eyen
of the olde emperour soze discoulowred
with wepyng, and the eies of the sonne
almoſt cloſed with sleapyng: the sonne
was wakyng with small thought, and
the father could not sleepe for graate
thought and peine. And whan he was
in his presence, seyng the litell care that
the sonne toke for the deathe of his fa-
ther, and considerying the great desyre
of the father for the good lyfe of his son,
it moued to pitie the heartes of all the
great lordes that were there, no leſſe to
leaue the compaignie of the good olde
man, than the annoiance of the dealyng
of the young prince. Than the Empe-
rour saide to his sonne theſe woordes.

What

¶ What the Emperour saied to his sonne at the houre of his deathe.

Capitule. xiv.

VNto thy maisters and my gouernours I haue shewed howe they shall counsayle thee: and nowe my sonne at this houre, I late to thee, how they (though they be but a fewe) all for thee alone shall gouerne: and it is not to bee taken in small estimacion. The moste easiest thyng in the worlde is to geue counsayle to an other: and the most hardest and highest thyng is, a manne to take it for hym selfe. There is none so symple a manne, but he maie geue good counsayle, though there bee no neede. And there is none so wise, that wyll refuse counsell in tyme of necessitee. I see one thyng that all take counsayle for all, and at the laste take it for hym selfe. Sonne I thinke, accordyng to my heuie fatall destinies, and thyne yll customes, that one thyng shall not profite thee, that is if the litteli goodnesse that thou hast doen was for feare of me in my lyfe, that thou wylte doe ieste, whan thou haste forgotten my death. I doe more nowe for to satisfie my

my desyre and the comon welth, than for the hope that I haue of the amendement of thy lyfe. There is not a worse complaynte, than that a man holdeth of hym selfe. If thou my sonne be yll, Rome will complayne to the goddis, that they haue geuen the so yll inclinacions: Thei wyll complaine of Faustine thy mother, that hath brought the vp so wantonly: and they wyl complaine on thy selfe, that thou doest not refraine the from vices: and they shall not complaine of thyne old father, that hath geuen the so many good counsells. I am in certaine, thou hast not so great dolour to se the ende of this night, and the ende of my lyfe, as thou hast pleasure to see the daie that thou shalte be Emperour, and I haue no meruayle, for where as sensualitee reigneth, reason is put asyde. Diuers thynges are beleued, because they are not knowen certaynely. O how many thynges of trouth ben there, that if ther were knowen truely, they shoulde be left. But we ben so doubtful in euery thyng, and go about our businesse so variably and inconstantly, that somtyme our spirites breake the purpose, and an other

tyme

tyme they rydde vs out of trouble nor hinderance. I saie, we be so swifft to do yll, that somtime we leese by a carde of the most, and to doe well we be so dul, that we leese a carde of the least: and at the last, we do nothyng but leese. Sonne I will aduertise the by wordes, that I haue knowen in. lxii. yeres by longe experience: and sith thou arte my sonne and younge, it is reason that thou beleue hym that is thy olde father. As we princes are regarde of all men, and regarde all men, and are regarded of all other, this saie thou doest inherite the empire of the worlde, and the court of Rome. I knowe well there by ynow in the court of princes, that know nothyng what is to make theim selfe of worthinesse, and to maintaine them self among so many trumperies as ar treated in the houses of princes. I let the to wit, that in the courte is auncient partialitees, presente dissencions, fearefull vnderstandynges, euidente witnesses, entrailes of serpentes, tongues of scorpions, many detractours, and few that seeke peace: and where as all menne shoulde hearken to the common voyce, euery man searcheth his owne profite.

Euery man sheweth a good pretence, and all are occupied in yll workes: In suche wyse, that some by auarice leese their good fame, and some prodigallie spend and waste all their goodes. What should I saie more? In the courte euerie daie the Lordes chaunge and alter the lawes, awake styles, and reyse noyses, abate nobleneſſe, exalte the vnworthie, banishe innocentes, and honour theues, loue flatterers, and dispraise them the whiche be vertuous, they imbrace delites, and treade vertue vnder their feete: they weepe for them that be yll, and laugh to scorne them that be good, and finallie they take all lightneſſe for their mother, and vertue for their steppemother. And my sonne I saie more vnto the. The court, the whiche thou shalt enherite this daie, is nothyng but a shoppe with wares, and a house of vacabundes, wherein some sell vile and corrupt thynges, and other bye lies, some haue credence, and some haue renoume, some haue goodes, and some haue liuyng, and altogither is but losse of tyme: and that worſte of all is, they will not beleue the payson thereof, tyll it be at their heartes, they are so foo-

lisshe

lisshe and sturdie. Rome hath veray hie walles, and the vertues is veray lowe: Rome vaunteth it selfe to be very stronge in numbre of inhabitauntes, and afterwarde Rome shall wepe that there is more people than vertue, and vices are not accompted. In a moneth a man might recken all the stones of the prowde edifices, but in a. M. yeres he might not comprise the malices of his yll customes. I sweare to the by the immortall goddes, that in three yeres I repayred all that was decaied in Rome, and in thirtie yere I could not refourme one quarter therof to good liuyng. Good sonne beleue me, the great cities full of good inhabitauntes ought to be praised, and not the great edifices. Our predecessours haue triumphed on straungers as weake and feble: and now they may triumphe on vs also, as menne that be more vanquisshed with vices, than any of the other. By the mightinesse & prowesses of our predecessours, we that be now, are greatly honoured and exalted: and by the small estimacion of vs, that be nowe, they that come after vs, shall be greatly ashamed. Of a veray trouth it is a great

shame to saie, and lesse infamy to doo, that the goodnesse and trauaile of the auncientes should now be tourned and conuerted to folies and presumpcion. Thy sonne looke well on thy selfe, that the reyne of thy youthe, and libertie of the empyre cause the not to commit vice. He is not called onely free, that is free borne, but he that dieth within the same. O how well are the slaues borne, that after their death are free by their goodnesse, and how many haue died seruaues by their naughtinesse, that were borne free. There is freedom, where nobleneſſe abideth. The prowesse of thy person shall geue the more hardinesse and libertie, than the auctoritie of the empyre. It is a generall rule, that euery vertuous man of necessitie is to be holden hardie: and euery vicious mā of necessitie is to be reputed a cowarde. How boldely they be chastised that be noted with any vice, and coldly they be chastised, that deserue chastisement. Let the prince be in certain, that the loue of his people, and the libertie of his office, hath not wherewith to vpholde hym in armes spred abrode on the erth, without the diuers vertues assembled in his pson.

Cers

¶ Certainly Octauius Cæsar subdued mo nations by the renoume of his vertues, than did Gaius his vncle with his armie of many men. All the worlde tolde of a vertuous prince, and it semeth, that all the worlde ryseth agaynst a vicious prince. Vertue is a stronge castell, and can neuer be wonne: it is a ryuer, where nedeth no towyng, a sea that moueth not, a fyre that quencheth not, a treasure that neuer hath end, an armye neuer ouercome, a burdene that neuer wrieth, a spie that neuer retourneth, a signe that neuer deceiueth, a plain way that neuer faileth, a syrope that healeth foorthwith: and a renoume that neuer perisheth. O my sonne, if thou knewest what thyng it is to be good, and what a man thou shuldest be, if thou wer vertuous, thou shouldest doe seruice to the goddis, good renoume to thy selfe, pleasure to thy frendes, and engender loue of straungers and finally all the worlde should feare and loue thee.

¶ I remembre that in the booke of yeres of the battail of Tarentine, I fond, that the renomed Pyrrhus, kyng of the Epyrothiens, bare in a ryng grauen these wordes: To a vertuous man is

but a small reward, to be lorde of al the earth: and it is but a smal chastisement to take a vicious mans life from him.

¶ Truly it was a worthy sentence of suche a prince. What thing is it, be it neuer so difficile, begunne by a vertuous man, but there is hope to haue a good end therof? Wotheiy I haue seene in diuers parties of mine empire, diuers men verey darke of good fame, verey low in goodes, and vnknowen of their kynne and bloud: vndertake so great thynges, that to my semyng, it was a fearefull audacitee to begin. And yet by the wynges of vertue all oneiy they haue had good renoume at the laste. By the immortall goddes, and as the good Jupiter bring me in his mancion, and as blisse thee, in all that is mine. There wer once, a gardiner and a potter, dwellyng in Rome, which only by theyr vertues, caused to put tenne vicious Senatours out of the Senate, and the fyrst occasion was, for makyng a bedge of thorne, and a pot, for the workemanship and labour wherof, the Senatours would not pay theym. I tell it thee my sonne, because that vice maketh a boie person thoughtfull, and vertue causeth

him that is in thought to take strength and boldnesse. I was well ware of two thynges in my life, not to pleade against the clerenes of iustice, nor to take parte against a vertuous person: For with vertue god susteineth vs, and with Iustice the people are well gouerned and ruled.

¶ Of other more particular counsailes, geuen by the Emperour to his sonne. Cap. xlvi.

NOw to come to thynges more particuler. Seeyng sonne, that thou art yong, and that nature can not deny the. And as in al difficile thynges, ripe counsell is necessarie, no lesse to cõforte the state of our liuyng, we vsire some recreations. For thy youth, I leaue thee with great lordes children, with whom thou maiest passe the time: And to teache the I leaue olde Romains, that haue nourished the, & serued me, of whõ thou shalt take counsel. The inuencion of interludes, of Theatres, to fisshe in pondes, to hunte wilde beastes, to course in

the feeldes, to hauke for brydes, and to exercise dedes of armes, at the thynges that thy youthe desireth. And youthe with youth ought to kepe companie, in doyng the same. But behold my sonne, that in orderyng of armies, to applie the warres, to pursue victories, to accepte truce, to confirme peace, to raise tributes, to make lawes, to promote some, and dismisse other, to chastise the yll, and recompence the good: In all these thynges, that be so chargeable, thei that be of cleere myndes, redy broken and trauailed of their bodies, and white heared, ought to be taken to counsaylle the. And sith thou art young and lustie of bodie, reioyce and sporte with them that be yonge: and whan thou art emperour, than touchyng thy secrete affaires, take counsell of them that be olde. Beware my sonne of all extremitees, For as yll maie the prince be, vnder the colour of grauitee, to be ruled by the auncient persons, as vnder the colour of pastyme, to keepe compaignie with young folkes. It is no generall rule, that all younge persons shall alwaies be younge and lighte, nor that all olde personnes shoulde be alwaies wyse.

I am sure of one thyng, that if the yong man be borne with folie, the olde man liueth and dieth with couetise. Therfore my sonne beware, be not extreme in extremitees. For the young people will corrupte the with their lightnesse, and olde folkes will deprive thy mynd with their couetousnesse. What thyng can be more monstruouse, than a Prince that commaundeth euery manne, to be commaunded of one? Sothlie the gouernyng of diuerse, can not be gouerned well by the opinion of one alone. Than the prince that gouerneth many, ought to haue the intencion and opinion of diuers.

¶ In the annales of the Pompeyens, I found a littel boke of remembraunce, the whiche greate Pompeye bare alwaie with hym: wherein were diuerse good counselles and aduertisementes, the whiche were geuen in diuerse parties of the worlde: Among the whiche, I founde these woordes: He that gouerneth the common weithe, and putteth the gouernaunce to theim that be olde, sheweth hym selfe vnable: and he that trusteth in youth, is lighte: and he that gouerneth by hym selfe alone,

is

is hardie and bolde: and he that gouer-
neth by hym selfe and other, is wyse.
These were notable woordes.

¶ Than my sonne, determine thee to
take counsel, and specially in high thyn-
ges and matters of difficultee, and o-
therwise let them not be determined.
For when the counsell is taken of di-
uers, than if any faute be, it shall be de-
uided among them all. Though the de-
termination might be doon by a fewe,
yet take counsayle of many. Among all
thy weithes, beare the cõmon counsell.
For one will shewe the all the inconue-
nience, an other the peryll, an other the
damage, an other the profite, an other
the remedie. And set as well thine eies
vpon the inconueniences, that thei laie,
as vpon the remedie that they offer.
When thou beginnest any hard matter,
esteeme as wel the small domages that
maie befal afore, and stoppe them, as to
remedie the gret misfortunes that come
after. Of trouth the strong and mightie
shippe oft times for a smal takyng hede
of the pylotte, is sounken and drowned
in a litteil water: and an other shippe,
not so strong, with wyse diligence, is sa-
ued in the gouffe of the sea. Be not anoi-

ed

ed to take counsell in small matters euery houre. For many thynges foorthwith require to be loked to, and in abidyng for counsell, it endomageth. And that that thou canst dispatche by thyne own auctoritee, without domage of the common welth, put it not to any other person. For sith thy seruice all onely dependeth of thine, the reward dependeth of the alone.

¶ In the yere. vi. C. xxx. of the foundacion of Rome, after the cruell warres dooen against the kynge of Numidie, the dai that Marius triumphed. without puttyng of any of the richesse, that he brought, into the common treasorie, he deuided it to his men of warre. And whan he was therfore accused and asked, why he toke not first the opinion of the Senate: He aunswered and sayd: Sith they toke not the opinion of other, to do me seruice, it wer not reason that I should take counsell of other, to rewarde and recompence them.

¶ Sonne, yet I wyll aduertise thee of other thynges. Peraduenture some will geue the counsell, er thou demaunde it in that case kepe this general rule, neuer abide the second counsell of a man, if he

haue

haue geuen thee counsaile before in the preiudice of an other. For he offereth his woordes in thy seruice, to bringe the busines to his own profit. O my sonne, there ar many thynges to knowe a man. xv. yere I haue been a Senatour, Consule, censure captain, and tribune: and xviii. yeres I haue been Emperour of Rome, and diuers haue spoken to me, in preiudice of other, and many mo, for their owne profite, and none haue spoken cleerely to me, for the profite of other, nor for my seruice. Great compassion ought to be taken of princes: for euery man followeth them for their own profite, and none for loue and seruice. One counsell I toke for my selfe, all the whyle that I haue gouerned Rome: I neuer kepte man in my house, after that I knewe him hatefull against the common welthe.

¶ In the yere of the foundacion of Rome vi.C. lix. of the Olimpiade. C. lxviii. Lucullus Patricien, great frende to Sylla, goyng to the warre of Mitridates, it chaunced that in Tygoano, a citie of Caldies, he founde a plate of copper or brasse vpon the kynges gates, wherin were certaine letters, whiche they

thei said were grauen there by the commaundement of Alexander the great. The letters were in Caldee, conteinyng these sentences: That prince is not wise that wyll holde his lyfe in perill, and wyll not assure his lyfe and state with the loue of all men: That prince is not vertuous, that geuyng muche to one person, willeth all other to haue but litle. That prince is not iuste, that will satisfie more the couetise of one person, than the voices of all men: That prince is a foole, that dispiseth the counsell of all other, and trusteth all onely vpon the opinion of one. And finally that prince is to bolde and hardie, that for the loue of one, wyll be hated of all other.

¶ These were woordes of eternall memorie. And in dede these princes should haue this alwaies in theyr presence. Yonne yet I shall say more to this. This Lucullus Patricien brought into the Senate, all the treasure that he had, and this plate, with the said woordes theron, to the intent that they shuld chose the one, and leaue the other. And the Senate refused all the treasure, and tooke the counselles written theron.

Of

¶ Of dyuers and particular recommendacions, whiche the Emperour commaunded his sonne.

Cap. xlviii.

I Haue shewed, lyke a father, the thyng, that toucheth thy welth: Now I wyll shew the, what thou oughtest to doo after my death, for my seruice. Those thynges, that I haue loued in my lyfe, if thou wilt be sonne to thy father, esteme them after my death. First my sonne, I recommēd to thee, the worshippyng of the Temples, and the reuerence of the priestes, with the honour of the goddis. So long shall the honour of the Romains last, as they persuere in the seruice of the goddis. The Realm of the Carthaginens perished not, because they wer not so riche, or more cowardes than the Romains: but because they loued their treasures to much, and were but yll worshippers and louers of the Temples. My sonne, I recommend to the Helia, thy stepmother, and remember, that though she be not thine owne mother, yet she is my wife: and on the peyne of my cursyng, suffre not that she

be

be yll intreated. For the domage that thee should suffre by thy consent, should geue cadence of the small thoughte, that thou takest of my deathe, whiche should be an iniurie to thy lyfe. I haue left to hir the tributes and reuenewes of Rome, for to mainteigne hir degree: and the gardeins of Vulcan, whiche I caused to make for hir recreacion. And if thou take it from hir, thou shewest thine pitie. And to suffre hir to enioye it, I commaund the by thine obedience, and to shewe hir thy bountee and largesse. Remember thee is a Romaine, younge and a widowe of the house of my lorde Traian, and how she is thy mother adoptiue, and my naturall wife: wherfore I leaue hir vnder thy recommendacion. Also I commit to the thy brethren in lawe: and thy sisters, my doughters. I leaue theim all maried, not to straunge kynges, but to the naturall inhabitauntes and citizens of Rome. They dwell all within the walles of Rome, where as they maie doo the seruice, and thou maiest doe theim good. Sonne, intreate theim in suche wyse, that though their good father be deade, yet leat theim haue

fauour. And though thei see their bro-
ther Emperour of Rome, yet let them
not be defouled. Women be of a tighte
tendre condicion, they will complaine
for a small cause, and for lesse thei will
reyse vp in pride: thou oughtest to con-
serue theim after my death, as I haue
doon in my lyfe. For otherwise their
conuersacion should be sehil to the peo-
ple, and importunate to the. Also I com-
mit to thee Lipula thy syster, that is a-
mong the virgins Vestales. Thinche
that shee is doughter of thy mother
Faustine, which I haue greatly loued
in my lyfe, and vnto the howre of my
death. I haue lamented hers, Euerie
yeare I gaue to thy syster .ii. M. ser-
ters, for hir necessitees: she had been as
well maried as the other, if shee had
not be brent in the visage: whiche was
esteined of euery man an ill aduenture,
and specially of hir mother, that wepte
alwaie for hir. But I esteeme that yll
aduenture, a good fortune. For if she
had not been brent in the face with fire,
she had in the worlde, as touchyng hir
renoume, be brent with diuerse tonges.
Sonne, I swere to the, that for the ser-
uice of the goddis, and the same di men,

she

she is more surer with the virgins in the temple, than though she were in the Senate, with the Senatours. I deme that at the end of the iourney, she shall find hir self better at ease, closed and locked in, than thou with all thy libertie. In the prouince of Lucany, I haue left for hir, the. ii. M. sterlers: I wyll not that thou take them fro hir. Also I commit Drusia the wydowe to the, which hath laied a great proces against the Senate, because that by mocions afore passed, hir husband was banished: I haue great compassion of hir: for it is. iii. monethes, sith she put in hir demaund, and because of my great warres, I could not declare hir iustice. Sonne, thou shalt finde it trewe, that in. xxxv. yere, that I haue gouerned Rome, there was neuer wydowe, that helde hir processe before me, passyng eight daies. Take compassion of suche. For womens necessitees are right perilous, and at the laste, yf their businesses be longe in hande, thei recouer not so muche of their goodes as thei lese in their renowme. Also haue compassion of poore men, and the goddis shall reward the, with great riches. Also I commit to the, my ancient

seruauntes, to whom my longe yeres and cruell warres, my often necessities the displesure of my body, and my long sickenesses, hath been right peinefull.

For thei, as true seruauntes, to geue me lyfe, haue taken peine vnto the deth. It is reason, that sith I haue taken their death, that they inherite part of my lyfe. One thyng I holde for certayne, In case that my body abyde in the sepulchre with wourmes, yet I shall alwaies before the goddis, haue remembraunce of theim. In this doyng, thou shalte doe as a good childe, to satisfie theim, that haue serued thy father.

Take hede my sonne, euery prince, doyng iustice, acquireth enemies in the execution thereof. And this is done by them, that are moste nere to hym. For the more priuy thei are with the prince, the more hatefull they are to the people. And though euery man loueth iustice in generall, yet they all hate execution thereof in particular. When a iuste prince is deade, the people take vengeaunce of the vniuste seruauntes.

When thou were a childe, my seruauntes nourisshed the, to the entente, that thou shuldest susteyn theim in their age.

Surely

Surely it wer a great shame to the empire, an offence to the goddis, an iniurie to me, and an vngentilnesse of the, that thou hast founde them eighteene yeres, with their armes abrode to haise thee, that they should find one day thy gates shut against them. These thynges I commit to the particularie, kepe theim alwaie in memorie. And sith I remembre theim at my death, consider how I loued theim in my life.

Of the last woordes that the Emperour spake to his sonne, and of a table that he gaue him. Cap. xlvii.

When the Emperor had ended his said recommendacions, the day began to spryng, and his eie strynges began to breake, & his tongue faultered, and his handes shoohe. Than the said happie emperour, feiyng that weakenesse began sore for to draw about his hert, he commanded Panuttius to go into his studie, and to bryng him a coffre that was there.

And whan it was brought to his pre-
sence, he opened it, and toke out a table
of thre foote brode, and two foote longe,
it was of wood Libanus, and round a-
bout garnished with Unicorne. It was
closed with. ii. leaues subtilly wrought,
of a redde wodde, that some said was
of the tree that the Phenix bredeth in,
and is called Rasin. And as there is but
one bird Phenix breedyng in Arabie: so
lykewyse there is no more trees in the
worlde of the same kynde. On one of
the outwarde parties of the Table, was
pictured and grauen the god Iupiter on
the other, the goddesse Uenus: In the
inward parties of the Table that shut,
was pictured god Mars, and the god-
desse Ceres: In the principall of the said
Table was pictured a Bull, subtiltie
wrought to the quicke, and vnder that
a kyng was pictured. The which pein-
ctures were said to be of the handie
worke of the expert Appelles, an aun-
cient workeman in peinctyng. Than the
Emperour toke the table in his handes,
and with great peine he saied: Thou
seest my sonne Comodus, how I am all
readie scaped from the trappes of For-
tune, and am entryng into the heuy ad-
uen-

uentures of death. I wot not why the goddis haue created vs, sith there is so great annoiance in our life, and so great peryll at our death. I vnderstande not why the goddis haue and vse so great cruelte to the creatures. Eui. yere I haue sayled with great trauaile thorough the great perilles of this lyfe: and at this houre I am commaunded to take land and discharge me of my flesh, and to take earth in the sepulchre. Now vnticth the liuely thredes, now vndoeth the spindell, now cluoth the webbe, now endeth my lyfe. Now am I awaked from the slepyng cuyll, remembryng how I haue passed my lyfe, I haue no more desire to liue. And in that I know not whiche waie to go, I refuse death: What shall I doe? I am determined to put me into the handes of the goddis willyngly, sith I must doe so of necessitie, whom I require, if they haue created me for any goodnesse, not to deprine me from theim for my demerites. I am now in the last gate: and to this howre I haue kepte the greatest and most excellent iewell that I coulde fynde in all my lyfe. In the tenth yere of mine Empyre, there arose a warre

against the Parthes: wherfore I determined in myne owne person to geue theim battail. After that warre I came by the auncient citie of Thebes, for to see some antiquitie. Among the whiche in a priestes house, I found this table, the which as a kynge was reysed in Aegipte, incontinent it was euer hanged at his beddes head, and this priest shewed me, that it was made by a kynge in Aegypte named Ptholome Arsacides, that was a vertuous prince. And in the memory of him, and exaumple of other, the priestes kepte it diligently. And sonne, I haue kepte it alway with me: and I beseche the goddis, that such may be thy woorkes, as therin thou maist finde good counsell.
As Empertour I leaue the, heire of many countreies and realmes: and as thy father, I do geue vnto the this table of counsailes. Let this be the last woorde, that with the Empyre thou shalt be feared, and by this table thou shalt be beloued.

¶ This said, and the table deliuered to his sonne, the Emperour tourned his eyen, and within a quarter of an houre he yelded the spirite.

¶ Now

Now to retourne to the saied table and writyng. There was written betwene the bull and the kyng a scrow in greke letters, in maner of heroicall verses, conteignyng in our vulgar tongue thus. I neuer chose riche tyraunt, nor abhorred the poore iuste man. I neuer denied iustice to a poore man for his pouertee, nor pardoned a riche man for his great goodes and richesse: I neuer dyd good dedes, nor neuer gaue dyse for affection, nor gaue correction onely for the peyne: I neuer lefte synnesse vnchastised, nor goodnes without reward. I neuer committed an other to do iustice that was clere, nor darke iustice I neuer determined by my selfe alone, I did neuer deny iustice to them that demanded it, nor mercie vnto him that deserued it: I neuer did correction for angre, nor promised anie rewarde in my myrthe: I was neuer charged with thoughtes in my prosperitee, nor dispaired in mine aduersitee: I neuer committed yll by malice, nor any villanie for auarice: I neuer opened my gates to flatterers nor dissemblers, nor lystened mine eares to murmurers: I haue laboured alwaies to be loued of them that be good,

and to be dred and feared of theim that be yl: And finally I haue fauoured the poore, that might doee but litteli, and haue bee fauoured of the goddis that maie doe muche.

¶ Hitherto is shewed briefely the worthie and laudable life of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, and of his death. And hereafter ensueth the second part of his booke.

¶ A letter sent by Marcus Aurelius to Pyramon his speciall freend. Cap. xlix.

¶ The first letter.

MArke Orator Romain borne at mount Celio, to Pyramon of Lyon, my great freende, desiryng salutacion to thy personne, and strength and vertue against thy sinister fortune. In the thirde kalendes of Januarie I receiued thy letter, whereby I perceiue thou hast receiued one of mine. I set small store by thy wordes, but I esteme

esteme greatly what thou meanest by them. So that without declaryng therof, I haue gathered the sentence. Reason wouldе, because I haue written so often to the, that thou shuldest the better vnderstande me: but thou arte so slouthfull, that though I call the, thou wilt not here: nor though I stryke the, thou wilt not feele. But nowe to come to the purpose. Thou knowest well Piramon, howe nere we be in parentage, auncient in frendship, stedfast in loue, and tender of hertes, and whan so euer thou put it in experience, than one true frende shall proue an other. Thou remembrest well, whan we were at Rodes, that we dwelled together in one house, and did eate at one table, and all that thou thoughtest, I did it in effect: and that I saide, thou neuer gainsaydest. Certainly thou were in my herte, and I in thyne entrailes. I was thyne and thou were myne. We beyng together, it semed to all other that we were but one, and of one will. What is it my frende Piramon? Thou writest howe thou art heaule, and yet thou doest not shewe the cause why: thou complainest that thou art almoste deade, and thou

shewest

shewest me not who taketh thy lyfe fro the. Yf thou wilt not shewe to me thine yll destinies, sith thou art my freende, I will thou know, that I demaunde it of righte, if thou wilte not, I will that thou know, that the pitiefull goddis haue determined, that al pleasures and profite shall departe from my howse: and that all heuines and domages shal be registred in my persoune. Sith I am prince of all honour, in tribulacion, if thou wouldest, thou canste not escape out of my seignorie. For if thou complaine, that thou arte vnhappie in fortune, than I esteme my seife to be happie in vnhappinesse. I demaunde one thyng of thee: whan haste thou seene me haue sufficient, and thou neede: whan hast thou seene me slepe, and thou wake? and whan hast thou trauailed, and I rested? Of trouthe sith the goodes and personnes are their owne propre, the trauayles and yll aduentures are alwaies common. One thyng thou oughtest to knowe, if in mine amitee thou wilt persheuere, that all my goodes are thine, and all thine euilles are mine, sith thou art borne to liue easilie, and to be gentellie ordered and intreated,

and

and I dooe lyue for to trauaile. I saye not this fainyngly: for thou hast had experience of me, that whan Iamaria thy syster dyed, that was no lesse vertuous than faire, thou sawest well whan she was buried dead, I was buried quicke, and at the sowne of my teares thine eies daunced. Syth thou holdest such secretes of my person, surely thou maiest discouer to me thy peyne. yet as often as I haue demaunded it, there hath not fained reasons layed in the.

I require the, and desire the againe, and in the name of the goddes I praie the, and in their names I coniure the, that thou despose all thy sorowes into mine entrailes. For the waie that thou goest, I will not leaue one pace to go fro the same: yf thou go, I wyll go: if thou reste, I wyll reste: yf thou woorke, I wil woorke: yf thou leaue of, I wyll dooe the same: yf thou wilt die, thou knowest well I wyll not liue. Regarde freende what thou wilt do. For thyne euils and mine, torment bothe one herte. If thou haue displeasure, all thynges displease me, yf thou wepe, I sweare fro henssorth neuer to laugh: if thou discharge the of thy peine: fro henssorth I shall take it

for

for mine: if thou goe alone, I wyll for-
sake companie, and forthwith liue soli-
tarily. What wilt thou that I should
deuyse. For all that euer thou wylt, I
will. Thou complainest that in all thy
trauailes thou canst fynde no parent to
remedie the, nor freend to counsell the.
I sweare to the my frende Pyramon, that
of these. ii. thinges I haue as much po-
uertie in my house, as thou hast sorow
in thine. I know well the remedie shuld
come by riches, and by counsell, and con-
solacion of theim that be wyse. And by
reason of my heauie destinies, slouthe
hath taken fro me the knowlage of wis-
dome: and fortune wyll not permit me
to haue great riches. Certainly I wepe
for thy misery, and yet there is but small
remedie in me. Thou saiest in thy letter,
that thy neighbours and frendes in pro-
mysyng haue behight the many thyn-
ges: but in geuyng they do nothyng.
Herof I meruayle, for the vertuous
hande is not bounde to make the toung
a foole. Truly though our fete daunce,
our handes should woorke at the sowne
of the toungue: our lyfe endeth in few
daies, and our renoume in fewer. Pro-
mise is an auncient custome among the
sons

sonnes of vanitee, and of custome the tonge speaketh hastily, and the handes worke at leisure. Now let vs speake more particularly.

¶ Thou oughtest not to complaine, in that thou findest not; but in a few, that dyuers haue found in the alone. Custome is to receiue forthwith and merily, and to geue slowly with yll wyll and repentaunce. They that be presumptuous doot the one, and they which be slouthfull, doe the other. the Greekes saie, that he that promiseth and is long in fulfillyng, is but a slacke frend. The Romains saie, that he is much better that denieth forthwith, because he will not begile him that asketh. In this case I say, He that may geue and geueth not, is a cleere ennemie: and he that promiseth forthwith, and is long er he doe it, is but a suspicious frend. What nede woordes to our frendes, whan we maie succour them with woorkes? Is it not right, to whom we geue our heartes, which is the best thyng within vs, that we geue hym our tongue, that is the worst thyng of our vices? In good soth the goddis wyll not suffre in the place of amitee, to desire any thyng of our frend

freend in haſte, and to be driuen of with long delayyng. Plato in his lawes ſaieth, we commaunde, that in our gouernyng, that politike counſaile be geuen to theim, that be in proſperitie, to the intent that they decay not: and to ſuccour them that be in heuineſſe and trouble, to the intent that they diſpaire not. Certainly vnder theſe wordes are compriſed diuers great ſentences. Thou knowest well, my freend Piramon, that ſwete wordes comfort the hert but litell that is in tribulacio, but if there be ſome good woorkes therwith. I wyll not denie, but that they, to whom we haue geuen our good willes in the tyme of our proſperitie, be bound to geue vs of theyr goodes, and to ſhew vs fauour in our aduerſitee. I demaund one thyng of the, wherfore holdeſt thou a preſumptuous licence to demaund? And reproueſt on the other parte the libertie of denyyng. Truely as there is a ſhame in the demaundyng, there is obligacion in ſome thyng to deny: an importunate man is not worthy to haue mercie. Thou maiſt knowe, if thou know it not my freende Piramon, that to attein to euery thyng that is demaunded, belongeth only to the

gods

goddis. To geue all thyng that is demaunded, is no signe of any seruāt. And to denye any thyng is of libertee. To wepe for that is denied, is the condicion of tyrauntes. And to can no thanke for that is geuen, is the condicion of the Barbariens: and to haue euer a stedfast hope of that is denyed, is the guyse of the Romaines. One of these thynges, wherein Gaius Cæsar shewed him self to be of high courage, was that he had most greatest ioye, whan the Senate refused any thyng desired by him. Oftentimes he said: There is nothyng wherin Rome geueth me more glorie and renoume to my person, than whan I shew my self most hastie to demaunde, and they most stiffe to denie me: to the intent that after thei should know what is my power to abide, and how litteil their strength is to resist. We thinke it is better to haue recours to the goddis with vertues, than to displease thē with quarelles. And to geue contentacion to thy reposed will, whan thou seest thy self in tribulacion: and that thou demaundest of the goddis and of men to be frustrate, thou oughtest to measure it with a right measure, and to praise

it in

it in a right balaunce, the great quantitee that hath been geuen to thee, and the littel quantitee that hath be graunted thee. O howe vncourteise be we to the goddis, and of small remembraunce to men, whan we miniſshe with forgetfulnes, that we haue receiued of them: and that littell that hath been refuſed vs, we augment it with complaintes?

Freend Pyramon, I am beguiled, if thou be not fiftie yeres of age, and all that ſeaſon thou haſt booen nothyng but receaued gyftes: and yet for all that, I haue not ſeen the do one daie of ſeruice. Certeinely it is no reaſon to complain of eight daies of yl fortune, beyng fiftie yeres of age. Thou ſaieſt in thy letter, howe thou haſte muche peine, becauſe thou knoweſt all thy neighbours to be enuious. In good ſoth, I haue peine for thy peine, and of thy merualyng, I haue great merualle. For all admiracion proceedeth but by ſurmountyng of ignoraunce, and faulte of experience. Doth the quiche vnderſtandyng of men rule the lyfe of theim that be mortall, that thei neede not to thinke of the trauayle to come, hauyng in their handes haſtie remedie? If thei be hungrie, thei

maie

maie eate: whan thei are colde, thei maie warme them: if thei be slepie, thei maie sleepe: whan thei be wery, thei maie reste: whan thei are sicke, thei maie be healed: whan thei ar heuy, thei maie reioyce in suche maner, that the thoughtfull life passeth, some to make tiltes and lystes, some to make armure and scaffoldes, some to inuente newe gynnes, and some to repayre bulwarkes. I saie the worlde and the fleshe doe nought els, but fight against vs, and we haue neede at all tymes to defende vs fro theim. All these remedies are against the trauaile of the flesshe. But what shall we do, that the cursednesse of enuie extend not among all these? Cursed is that wealthe, that euery man enuieth. Certeignely against enuie is no fortresse to defende, nor caue to hyde, nor high hyll to mounte on, nor thicke woodde to shadowe in, nor ship to scape in, nor horse to beare awaie, nor money to redeme vs. Enuie is so venemouse a serpent, that there was neuer mortall man among mortalles that could scape fro the bityng of hir toothe, and scratchyng of hir nayles, foilyng of hir feete, and poisonyng of hir poyson. I sweare

to the my freende Piramon, that suche as fortune lifteth vp with great riches, shee full of cruelitee geueth theim prosounde dirynges. Enuie is so enuiouse, that to theim, that of dir are most denyed, and set farthest of, she geueth most cruell strokes with hir feete. This vnhappy enuie prepareth poyson secretely for them that be in reste among diuerse pleasures.

¶ I haue redde diuerse bookes of Hebrewe, Greke, Latine, and Caldei. And also I haue spoken with many verais wise men, to see if there might be found any remedie against an enuiouse man. I confesse the trueth: I reade all that can be redde, and imagine all that can be, demaunde all that can be demaunded: and ye shall fynde none other cure against this cursted enuie, but to banishe vs fro all prosperitee, and to sitte with aduerse fortune. O how vnhappie are they that be in prosperitee: for iustely they that be sette vp in high estate, can not flee from the perill of Scilla, without fallyng into Caribdis. They can not scape the perill, without castyng their treasures into the sea. I saie that the maladie of enuy will not suffre them

to

to ſcape frō wrath, and the medicine that is applied to them, wyll not aſſure their life. I can not determin me, whiche is the beſte, or to ſaie more properly, the woiſt, extreme miſerie without the danger of fortune, or extreme proſperitie, that is alwaies thretned to fall. In this caſe to be ſo extreme, I wyll not determin me, ſith in the one is a perill[y] lyfe, and in the other renoume is ſure.

¶ I ſhall tell the, what wiſe Cicero ſaied, whan he was purſued with many at Rome: Beholde you Romains, I holde you not for ſo good, nor my ſelfe ſo yll, to ſay the trouth alwaies, nor alwaies to make lies. I am certain, that ye beare me none enuie, for that I am not as ye be, but it is, becauſe ye can not be as I am. In this caſe I had rather that my ennemies had enuy at my proſperitie, than my freendes at my pouertie.

¶ This orateur ſpake after the appetite of theim that be in proſperitie, leauyng to geue remedy to them that be ſorowfull. And after this Cicero had ſene the fieldes of Farſale, he toke other counſell & remedy, ſuch as pleaſed him in Rome. For if Cæſar had granted

 hym

him his goodes, yet that turned not his credence and renoume. Surely frende Pyramon, I knowe no remedie to geue the against enuie, sith thou seest all the worlde full therof. we see how we be the sonnes of enuie, and we liue with enuie, and die with enuy, and he that leaueth most riches, leueth the greteſt enuy. The auncient wiſe men counſailed rich men, that they ſhould not haue poore folkes nere thē, and they admoniſhed the poore, that they ſhould not dwell nere to the riche. And truly it is good reaſon. For the richeſſe of riche men, is the ſede of enuie to the poore. And becauſe the poore man lacketh, and the riche hath to muche, cauſeth diſcorde among the people. I ſwere by the goddis immortall, frende Pyramon, though they that be yll wold that I ſhould ſweare falſely, as muche as richeſſe with thought nouriſheth couetiſe, ſo muche the enuious nouriſheth enuy therby. I tell the one thyng, and that is, that it is no good coūſell to flee enuie, and to auoide the vertue contrary the ſame. Homer ſaith, that in his time there wer two Greekes extreme in all extremities: The one was extreme in richeſſe, and therfore he was perſecu-

ted

ted by enuy, and that was Achilles: and the other was lore noted of malice, but no man had enuie at hym, and that was Thiestes. Certainly I had leauer be Achilles with his enuie, than Thiestes without it. Thou knowest well, that we Romains seatche not but for rest in our life, and for honour after deth. And sith it is so, it is not possible but the man that euery man enuieth his tenoume, ought to be exalted in the rest of his lyfe And sith I see those two thynges in the, suche as be my frendes taketh litteli thought, for that thine enemies mourmure against the. Thou writest to me, how they of Lyons do well, and are merry: except thy selfe, that art heuy, & full of pensiuenesse, and sith they shew not to haue pleasure at thy displeasure, shew not thy selfe displeased with their pleasure. For it may chaunce one day they shall be sorowfull, whan that thou art merie: than thou shalt be quite with thē, In an euill persoune there can be no greatter yll nor in a good man, a greatter faute, than to be displeased with an other maunes wealth, and to take pleasure at an other mannes harme. And in case that all doe vs domage with enuie,

yet much more a freende, than the enemy. For of myne enmy I wyll beware, and for feare he wyll withdraw: but a freend with his amitie may begyle me, and I by my fidelitie shall not perceiue. Amonge all mortall ennemies there is none worse than a freende that is enuious of my felicitie. Piramon my frend, I wyll conclude, yf thou wylt withdraw thy selfe fro ennemis, than kepe company with thyne owne familiar freendes. I wot not what to wryte more to the, but with all my herte I lament thy heuinesse. Thou knowest how thy nece Brusia was slayn with a dagger by hyr own husbande. I had great compassion for hyr death, and for the renoume that she left behynde hyr. Flauius Fulcus thyne vncle is newly made censure. The processe betweene thy brother Fornio and Britio is determined by the senate, and it pleaseth me right well, that they be freendes, and euery man well content. The boke intituled the consolacion of heauinesse, I haue ended, and laied it in the capitoll. I haue written it in greeke, and that is the cause that I sent it not to the. But I do send the a riche sword, and a fayre

girdell

girdell. Faustine my wife doeth salute the, and sendeth thy wife two sciaues. The goddis be my keperis, and comfort the in thy present heuinesse. Marke the man fortunate, to Piramon sore discomforted.

¶ A letter sent by Marcus the emperour to Cornelius, of the trauaile of war and vanitie of triumph.

¶ The second letter.

MArke emperour of Rome to the Cornelius my feith full freend, salutacion to thy person, and good fortune to thy desiered lyfe. As thou in tyme passed, hast ben partner of my trauails. I haue sent to call the to geue the plesure of my triumphes. By the abundance of riches, diuersitee of captiues, fiersnesse of capitaines, that we haue brought to Rom.e, thou maiest perceiue, what perilles we haue suffered in this warre. The Parthes are good men of warre: and as euerie man findeth in their own land defendeth their houses with strong heart: and surely they doe it the good menne.

For without reason, we dye of affection to take other mennes goodes: and thei with reason do labour to defend that is their own. Let no man take enuie at the Romain capitain, for any triumph that is geuen him by his mother Rome. For one daie of honor, he is a thousand daies in dispaire of his life. I will not speake, that I might say of them that be in warre, and dwell in Rome, e been cruel iudges of their own fame. And sith that the proper renoume of a man lieth in other folkes tonges, it is not said because his person hath merited, but because that thei do shew their enuie. But our folishnesse is so folishe, and the reputacion of men so vayne, that for one vayne woord, more than for our profit, we put our life in daunger, and laie our honour to gauge with trauayle, rather than to liue, and to assure our renoume with rest. I swere by the goddis immortall, that the daie of my triumph beyng in the chariotte, I was as pensiue as I might be. O Rome, cursed be thy foly, and woe bee to hym that hath brought vp in the so muche pride. And cursed be he that hath inuented so great pompe in the. What greatter or more

vng

vnegall lightnesse can be, than that a Romaine capitaine, because he hathe conquered realmes, altered peasibles, destroyed cities, cast downe fortresses, robbed the poore, enriched tyrauntes, shedde muche blounde, and made infinite wyddowes, should for recompence of all these damages, be receiued with great triumph? Where hast thou seen a greatter folye? Infinite numbre is destroied in warre, and one alone shal beare awaie the glory therof: & though suche miserable conquerours merited not to be buried, yet whan I went thorough the streetes of Rome (I tell it as a secret betweene the and me) that whan the chariot triumphaunt came, and the vnhappy prisoners charged with irons, remembryng the infinite treasures yll gotten, and hearyng the lamentacions of the wyddowes sorowfullie weepyng for the death of their husbandes, and callyng to mynde our manifolde freendes dead: though I reioyced me openlie, I wept droppes of bloud secretelye. I can not tel what person taketh pleasure in hym selfe of an other mans damage. In this case I praise not the Assirians, nor I emule not the Persians.

Nor

nor am contente with the Lacedemonians, nor approue the Caldeans, nor content me with the Grecians. I curse the Troians, and condempne them of Carthage, because thei folowed not the zele of Justice, but what they did in their tyme was with rage of pride, whereby they and their realmes were brought into sclaunder, and was occasion to leese vs. Oh cursed Rome, cursed thou hast been, and cursed thou shalt be. For if the fatall destinies deceiue me not, and mine vnderstandyng faile me not, and that fortune hold not faste, we shall see in tyme to come, Rome shall be in lyke case, as other realmes bee nowe in our daies. And where as now with tyrannie thou art ladie ouer all seignories, it shall come by Justice, that thou shalte tourne to be bonde to theim, that are now vnder thy bondage. Oh yll fortunate Rome: I saie it because that vertue is so derre in thee, and makest folye so great cheape. Peraduenture thou art more autentyke then Babylon, fayrer than Troy, richer than Carthage, stronger than Troye, better peopled than Thebes, more floated with shippes than Corinthe, more delicious than Lybie,

Thyrie, more inexpugnable than Aquileie, more happie than Numancie: we see how they all perished, for all their vertues and valiaunt defenders, and thou hopest to abide perpetually, stored with them that be vicious, and peopled with such as be full of vice. O Rome, marke this for certayne, that the glory that thou hast at this houre, was first theirs, and this destruction that now is theirs, hereafter shall be thine. My dere freend Cornelius, shall I shew the, the losse of the Romaine people, but I cannot tell it the without weepyng? If the Emperour of Rome commaunde, I make decrees for the warre: if any countrey arryse, by sownyng of a trumpette, to make men to reyse their banners, and to create newe capitaines. And it is a thyng verey euident, to see, that whan they reyse their standerdes, and haue leaue to make and assaile ennemies, children leaue their mothers, students leaue their schooles, seruauntes forsake their maistres, and officers their offices, to thentent that vnder the colour and craffte of goyng to warre, they should not be chastised by Iustice. They haue no feare of the goddis, nor reuerence to

the

the temples, nor obedience to their fathers, nor loue nor awe of the people, and loue to liue ydelly, and hate iust labour, and their exercises are domageable. Some doo robbe the churches, some make quarelles and stirres, and some breake gates open, and beare the goodes away. Sometime they take theim that be at libertie, and deliuer theim that should be prisoners. They passe the nightes in plaies, and the daies in blasphemies: Finally they are vnfit to do well: and are wholly disposed to do yll. What shall I saie of their negligence? I am ashamed to write it. They leaue their own wiues, and take other mens. They dishonour the doughters of honest men, and begyle young maidens. They enforce their hostesses, and neyghbours wyues: and worste of all, the women that do go with theim, set them agog that do tarie. And so in this maner none of these women that so go, scapeth without losse of honour, and the other are striken with vices in their hertes, because they tary. Thinke surely Cornelius, that the enterprises are small, where as women doo go to warre. Thou knowest, that the women

Amas

Amazons haue made greatter warre in Grece, than the cruell ennemies, and not for because they had not men ynow, but because there wer so many women. Pyrrhus was ouercome by Alexander. The valiaunt capitayne Hannyball was lorde of Italy, as long as he suffered no women to come in his warres. And when he was enamoured of a faire yong damsell of Capue, he was faine forthwith to turne his backe to Rome, because Rome clensed the felde from lecherie. For the same cause Numancie was cast to the earth. And I my selfe haue seen in the warre of Parthes, seuenteene thousande horse menne, foure score thousande foote menne, and fiue and thirtie thousande women. And our businesse wente so, that fro our hoste I sent away Faustine my wyfe, and so did other Senatours their wiues home to their houses, to the intent that they should serue theim that were olde, and bryng vp their childern. That daie that a patrician is approued by the Senate, and ledde about Rome by the Consules, the Egle is hanged at his breste, and his raiment is redde, and he after ryseth in suche pryde, that he

remem-

remembreth not the powertie of the tyme
paſſed, but thinketh to be Emperour
of Rome foorthwith. Beholde than
what they do. They with their berdes,
and ruffe their heares, boyſtous their
wordes, they chaunge their clothes, and
roull their eien, that they may ſeme the
fierſer. And finally they loue to be fea-
red, and hate to be loued. And wotteſt
thou not that they will be feared? On
a day beyng at Pentapolyn, I heard a
capitain of mine, not ſeyng me, ſweare
and blaſpheme, ſaiyng to a woman his
hoſteſſe: ye villainous people, wyll not
know the capitaynes of warre: I wyll
thou knoweſt mother, that the erth ne-
uer trembleth, but whan it is tyzed of a
capitaine Romayne: and God neuer
cauſeth his ſonne to ſhyne, but where
as we be obeyed. But now freende
Cornelius, ſith I haue blaſoned his
vaunt, harken his vertue and woorthi-
neſſe. I ſweare to the, that the ſaid ca-
pitaine, for all his boſte, beyng in a cru-
ell battaile, was the firſt that fled as
lone fro the battayle, and left the ſtan-
dard: wherin he did inough, to cauſe
me to loſe the feelde. But whan it was
doen, I cauſed to ſtrike of his hed. It is

an infallible rule, that they that shewe them selfe moste fierce, in effect are moste cowardes. In diuers bookes I haue redde, and of diuers I haue heard, and in many I haue seen, that it can not fail in a man that can suffer and take patience to haue vertue and force: And it is mervaile that he is strong and valiant, that can not suffer. What shall I saie more of the griefes and domages, that these menne of warre doe, in passyng thorough realmes, and of theftes and robberies, that they commit in the houses, where as they lodge? I ensure the, the worme in the tymbre, nor the mothes in the clothes, nor the sparkle in the towe, nor the darnel among the corn, nor the weefell among the grain, nor the caterpillers in frute trees, doth not so muche domage, as one compaignie of men of warre doeth hurte the poore people. They leaue no cattaile vnslain, no garden vnrobbed, no wylde beaste vnchased, nor no maide vndeflowred, and yet whiche is worste, they eat without payment, and they will not serue without paiement, nor no man can conuerse and endure among them. When they are paied, by and by their plaie is awaie:

if thei bee not payed, thei tobbe, and grudge: and the case is come to so great corruption, that if thou sawest it, thou wouldest saie, that eche of theim were the head of rumour, and the beginnyng of strife, poyson to vertues, Potestate of rouers, and capitain of all wretched theues. I saie not this without weppyng. It is the greatest mockyng of all mockeries: and the cause goeth to suche losse and partition, that these mischeuous people are our homely and familiare enemies: and yet there is no Emperour, that can haue lordshippe ouer them, nor iustice chastise theim, nor feare withdrawe theim, nor lawe subdue them, nor shame restraine them, nor death that can kyll theim, for thei be men remedielesse: Thei ouerrenne, and dispoyle euery man. O how sorowfull I am for the Rome, that was not wont to haue in the such yl aduentures. Certainlie, in the auncient time whan thou were peopled with right and true Remains, and not as thou art now, with bastarde children, than the armies that wente fro Rome, were as well disciplined and morigerate, as the schooles of the philosophiers, that were in Greece.

The

The old auncient hiſtories witnes, that kyng Philippe of Macedonie, and his ſonne Alexander, were happie in warre, becauſe they kepte theire armies ſo well ordered, that it ſeemeth better, to be a Senate ruled, than an armie that would fighte. I ſweare to the by mine honeſtee, that fro the tyme of Quintus Cincinatus, vnto the noble Marcus Marcellus (in the whiche time was the greateſt proſperitee of Rome) the common people had great glorie, as long as the diſcipline of knyghthoode was well corrected: and we began to loſe, whan our capitaines began to deſerue to be depraued and condempned. Oh curſſed be thou Aſie, and curſed be the day, that we had conqueſt of thee. The goodneſſe that hath folowed thereby, we ſee it at our eie: and the domage that is come by thee, ſhall alwaies be ſorowed. In the we haue waſted our treaſures, and thou haſt filled vs with thy vices: In chaunge of ſtrong and vertuous menne, thou haſt ſente thy wantons to vs: We haue ouercome thy cities, and thou triumpheſt of our vertues: we haue beaten downe thy fortreſſes, and thou haſt deſtroied our good cuſtomes: by force

thou art become ours, and with our good wylles, we are nowe thine. Vnlustly we are lordes of thy realmes, and we are iust subiectes to thy vices. Fynally, thou Asie shalt be the Sepulchre of Rome, and thou Rome shalt be the sinke and gutter of the filthinesse of Asie. Certeignely Rome ought to haue been content with the landes of Italy, whiche is the nauill of the worlde, without conquerying the landes of Asie, to bereue theim from other. I lyke wel thinges that I haue redde of my predecessours, sauyng that they were prowde, as we their successours be to hardie.

And I sweare vnto the, that yet peradventure, after the pein, we shall become vertuous and good. All the richesse and triumphes, that our forefathers haue brought out of Asie, the goodes and the richesse, and they also, with the tyme at laste had an ende: but the wantonnesse and vices, that are in vs their children, doeth remaigne still vnto this day. I would to god, that the princes knewe, what an outragious thyng it is, to inuent warres in straunge landes & countreies, and what trauaile they scatche in their persones, and what thoughtes

in

in theſe myndes, and what mourmure and mocion in their ſubiectes, what end and waſtyng of their richeſſe and treaſures. What pouertie to their friendes what pleaſure to their enemies. what domage to their natiue countreies, and what poyſon they leaue to their own in heritours? I ſweare to the, that if I had knowen, that I booe knowe (I wyll not ſay, but by bludſhed they be taken) if they had offred theim ſelfe with good wyll, and cheadyng of teares, I would not haue taken theym. The trouth is, that our capitaynes neuer ſlewe twentie thouſandz menne of Aſie, with theyr armure that they bare out of Italy, but they loſte mo than a hundred thouſand Romaynes, with the vices that they brought to Rome: As eatyng openly in the palaies Auſonios, ſuppyng in their howſes ſecretely, the women to clothe them as men, and the men peincted as women. The Patriciens bearyng Mealques, The Plebeians vſyng ſmeiles, and the Emperours to weare purple. Theſe ſeuen vices of Aſie, Aſie ſent for a preſent to Rome. Seuen noble capitaynes brought theim. I leaue to ſhewe theyr names, leſt I ſhould ſhame

them with their faultes, sith they wer so noble meane by their high decdes. Nowe ye princis, beholde what profite it is, to take straunge realmes with our warres. I leue the vices, that they recouer, and the vertues that they lese, with the perdicion of their treasure that they loue. For certayne there is neyther kynge nor realme brought to extreme powertie, but by warryng a straunge realme with small and extreme conquest. I demaunde of the mine owne frende Cornelius, what causeth princis to lese their treasure, and requite theim of other? When their owne can not suffice, than they take fro churches, fetche diuers lones, leise tributes, and inuent new subsidies, geue and spende on straungers, and make hym selfe hated of his owne. pray euery man, and haue nede of euery man: aduenture his persone, and aduenture his renoume? If thou knewest not this, I wyll tell the, if thou wylt heare me. These princis counsaile with men, they lyue with men, and finally at the last they are men. At one tyme by pryde, that surmounteth them. an other tyme by counsell, that faileth them, some imaginyng by

by their fantasies, some saying, that if he haue great goodes, he ought to encreasse his fame, and that no memory should be of him, if he murnied no war, and that the Empereour of Rome by right, is lord of all the erth. And in this maner, as his fortunes is base, and his thoughtes high, the goddis suffre, that when he thinketh iustly to win an other mans, than iustly he loseth his owne. O Princis, I can not tell what begyleth you. For where as ye may be rich with pleasure, ye wyll be poore with warre, where as ye may be beloued, ye wyll be hated: where as ye may play and spoort your selfe, and rest in a sure life, ye wyll commit your self to the chaunces of fortune: and where as other haue necessitie of you, ye put your selfe to be in the necessitie of other. And though the prince make no warre, he should not suffer his people to warre. Eurry man ought to leue his warre. Frend Cornelius, I demand of the, whether is more trauayle to his person, or damage to his realme, a kynges ennemies, or els his owne armie? His ennemies robbe on the costes, but our men robbe al the lande. The ennemies may be resisted, but we dare not

speake to our own menne. The enemies inuade vs on one daie, and recule backe again, but our garisons rob daily, and abide still. The strägers haue some feare but ours are shameleſſe, and at the laſt, the farther that our enmies go, the more they ware liberall, and our armies of men, euery day increaſe in cruelrie, in ſuche wiſe, that they offend the goddis, and be importunate to their Princes, and noyfull to the people, liuyng to the domage of euery manne, and be vnprofitable to all men. By the god Mars I ſweare to the, and as I may be holpen in the warres, that I gouerne with my hande, I haue no complaintes daily from the Senate on the capitaynes that been in Illiriche, than on all the enemies of the Romaynes people: I haue more feare in mainteignyng one ſandrew of a hundred menne, than to geue battaile to fiftie thouſand enemies. For the Goddis and Fortune diſpatche a battail in an howre, be it good or badde: but with theſe other, I can do nothyng in all my lyfe. Thus it hath been my frend Cornelius, and thus it is, and thus it ſhall be. Thus I founde it, thus I holde it, and thus I ſhall leaue it.

it. Our fathers did inuent it, and we ſuſteigne it, that be their children, and for yll it ſhall abide to our heyres. I ſay to thee one thyng, and I thinke I am not deceyued therein. To endure ſo great domage, and to no profitte of the people, I thynke it a great foly in man, or elles a great punyſchement of the Goddis. Be the goddis ſo iuſt in all Juſtice, and ſo true in all veritee, that they wyll ſuffice vs without reaſon, to doe yll in ſtraunge landes, to whom we dyd neuer good, and in our owne houſes, to haue ſhrewde tournes of theim, to whom we haue alwaie doen good? Theſe thynges frende Cornelius, I haue written to thee, not becauſe I thinke it nedefull, that thou ſhouldeſt knowe it, but my ſpirite reſteth in ſhewyng of it. Panuttius my ſecretary went to viſite this lande, and on the waie I gaue him this letter, and I doe ſende to the two horſes, I thynke they be good. The armour and iewels, that I won on the Parthes, I haue departed them. How be it I ſend the a chariot of thi. My wife Fauſtin ſaluteth thee, and ſendeth to thy wyfe a rich glaſſe, and an ouche of precio⁹ ſtones to thy doughter.

I beseche the goddis, to geue the good lyfe, and me a good deathe. Marcus thy louer, writeth to ẏ Cornelius his frēde.

¶ To Torcate beyng at Gaiette, in consolacion of his banysshement.

¶ The thyrde letter.

MArcus of mount Celio, companion of the empire, to the Torcate, beyng at Gaiette, patrician Romaine, salute to thy person, and vertue and force against aduerse fortune. It is a three moneths sith I receiued thy letter, the whiche mine eies mighte not make an end to reade, nor my handes to aunswere, I am so heauie for thy heauinesse, so peinefull for thy peine, and so hurte with thy wounde, that where as thou weepest with thine eies outwardlie, I weepe with my heart inwardlie. I wote what difference is betwene the tree and the croppe, and the dreame fro the trouth: I here of thy trauailes by straunge persons, and I feele them in mine own person. But where as true frendes be, the peines ar in cōmon. The great infortunes ought to be suffe-

red

red for one thyng, because they declare who are the true frendes. I knowe by thy letter, how thou art banished from Rome, and all thy goodes confiscate, and that for pure beauinesse thou arte sicke in the body. I would goe see thee: and counsaile thy persone, because that thou mightest see, with what herte and will I do wepe for thy misaduenture. But if thou take me for thy true frend, beleue me, as I beleue thee, that is how muche I feele thy misaduenture. Of trouth, as thou arte banyshed bodyly, so am I banyshed inwardly in my herte. And yf thy goodes or substaunce be taken awaie fro thee, I am robbed of a good frend and companyon. And if thou lackest thy frendes, I am addyng among mine ennemies. Though I might remedie by wourkyng of my power, thy banyshement: yet I will counsell thy spirite with certeigne wordes. If I be not forgeatfull, I neuer sawe thee content in this life: because thou were euer buisie in thy prosperitee, and wearie of any aduersitee. And as nowe, I see the dispaire, as though thou wer but new come into this world. I haue knowen the this .xxxii. yeres in

greate ioye: and nowe thou complaineſt of fiue monethes, that fortune hath turned hir wheele. O Torcate, now thou maieſt knowe, that vertuous men feare more two daies of proſperitie, then two hundred of aduerſe fortune. O how many menne, and how many riche cities haue thou and I ſeene, ſlippe fro their proſperities, through their vicious lyuyng and ſtraunge enemies: In ſuche wyſe, that their vaine glorie and ſlipper proſperitee, endured but two daies: and the hurtes and loſſe that they haue had, and the cruell and extreme enmities, the whiche alſo that they haue wonne, laſteth to this day in their hertes. Contrary wyſe, we ſee ſome ſet in the height of tribulacions, the whiche haue eſcaped by caſtyng away vyces, clothyng them with vertues, wery of euyll woorkes, folowyng goodneſſe, beyng frendes to all, and enemies to none. What wilt thou that I ſhould ſay more? They that are happie, are ouercome in peace, and they that are vnhappie, doo ouercome other in warre. Therefore my frende Torcate, it ſeemeth to me, no leſſe neceſſitie, to geue good counſayle, than to proſpere with greate

proſpe-

prosperitie, to remedy them that are in great heuinesse. For as wery are they, that goe the plaine waie, as they that coasteth the high mountaignes. By thy letter I perceiue, that what tyme thou hopedst to haue been in most quietnesse and rest, this yll fortune and chaunce fell on the. Be not abashed thereof For though that all new chaunces causeth new thoughtes presentlye, yet thereby commeth more cause of stedfastnesse in tyme to come. Certaynly the tree beareth not so much fruit, there as it springeth first, as it doeth, whan it is new set in an other place. And all good smelles are more odoriferous, if they be well medled and chaufed togither. I praie the tel me, abidyng in the world, being a child of the same, and louing the world, what hopest thou to haue of the world, but worldly thynges? the worlde shall alwaies be the world. At this howre thou art worldly, and shalt be worldly, and shalt be intreated as the world is accustomed to intreate theym that be worldly. If thou knewest thy selfe and thy weakenesse, if thou knewest fortune and hir mutacion, if thou knewest the men & their malices, if thou knewest the

worlde,

worlde, and the flatteryng therof, thou wouldest reise the fro the haude therof with honour, and not be chastised with infamie. O how we hope to spreade by fortune: O how often without respect vnwares we passe this lyfe. O how often we trust the vobance of this worlde: and we trust therin as much as though it neuer beguiled man. I say it not because I haue heard it saied, nor because I haue redde it in bookes: but for we see it daily with our eies, some decaie and lese their goodes, other fall and loose their credence, some fall in sight, and loose their honour, and other arise and loose their liues, and some thinke that all are sees by priuiledge, where as neuer none were priuiledged. O my frend Torcate, of one thyng I am certayne, and leat euery man take it for a warnyng: when, by whom we be borne, be of so yll disposicion, and the worlde so fierse and cruell, with whom we liue, and the glydyng serpent fortune so full of poyson, that they hurt vs with their feete, and bite vs with their teethe, and scratche vs with their nayles, and swell vs with their poyson, so that the passyng of the lyfe is no lesse than takyng

of

of death. And in case thou hast seen some liue longe without any fall of fortune, thinke not it is well, for it is not by good aduenture, but the more his yll fortune. The worlde is so malicious, that yf we take not heede to prepare against his wrinches, it wyll ouerthrow vs to our greatter losse and hurte. Thus che sooner dye they that ben healthfull, with the infirmities and sickenesse of fewe daies, than they that be weake, with their langour of many yeres. I say this, because I holde it for most suretie, that the miserable man, that may not liue without miseries, should feele the peynes by litteli and litteli, and not all at once. We eate diuers thynges by morsels, which if we should eat wholl, would choke vs. In likewise by dyuers daies, we suffre diuers trauailes, whiche all together would make an ende of vs in one daie. And than sythe the goddis will permitte, that thy misfortune shall fall, and that the riuer of thy decaie ouerflow his chanell, and where thou weenest to be most sure, thou shalt be in greatest perill, we shall ministre to the a syrope, to the intent that thou lose not thy good renoume, though

thou

thou haue loſt thy goodes that be nought. Tell me I pray the Torcate, why complaynest thou, as he that is ſicke? why cryest thou lyke a foole? why ſighest thou as a deſperate man? Why weepest thou as a chylde? Thou haſt goen an yll way, and complainest of thy reſte. Thou art cloathed to goe thorough buſſhes, and thou ſaiſt, that thy gownes do teare. Thou walkest among the ſtones, and art ſory becauſe thou fallest. Thou haſt leaned, and thoughtest not to fall, and finally thou art let with the worlde, and thinkest to be free with heauen. Wylt thou haue ſauecondutte of Fortune, that is enne mie to many? She can not geue the naturallitie, whiche is mother to al thynges. I wyll aſke the one thynge: I put caſe the ſea had promiſed the, to be alway in ſuertie of hir, and the ſkie cleere wether, the ſommer ſnowes, and the wynter flowers. It wyll not be of a ſuretie Torcate. If nature can not fulfill this beyng thine owne mother, thinkeſt thou than, that Fortune will geue it the, whiche is thy vniuſt ſtepmother? Kepe this rule for certeigne, and neuer forget it, that all naturall courſes are

ſubs

subiectes to mutacion euery yere. And all worldlie folke that trust on fortune, shall suffre eclips euery moment. And than suche naturall thynges can not be alwaies in one case. Of necessitee the goodes of Fortune muste perishe, sith they be superfluitee. Right vniust shold the rightwyse goddis be, if they had made perpetuall that, whiche is domageable to so many: Or that whiche is profitable, to haue created it fallible. I will speake no more of thy prosperitee in tymes passe. but now I will come to the banishement that thou sufferest presently. Suspicious Fortune made a layer at thy gate, knowyng what she solde: and thou wyste not what thou boughtest: She made a deere bargain, and solde it deere to thee, she hath geuen thee sower for swerte, and the swerte is tourned into sowernesse for thee: She hath geuen the euill for good, and hath tourned thy good to yll. And finallie, she hath beguiled thee at a iust price, not wetyng to the that she would haue dooen thee domage: and though that shee was malicioufe in seilyng to the, thou wer no lesse folish in the biyng thereof: for the more there is in fortunes

nes shoppe, the more suspect is the mar-
chaundise. O how vnhappie be we, for
in that market is nothyng sold but lies.
And she trusteth nothyng but vpon the
pledges of our renoume: and at last wil
not be paied, but with the shot of our
lyfe, and that is the most greatest and
mischeuous wounde. It is as openlie
knowen to euerie manne as to the, that
where as they thinke not to leese their
wares, false fortune in that they pour-
pose, to their mishappe lieth in awaite,
and is redie to bye theim. Thou makest
me verie sore abashed Torcate. I haue
reputed the right wise and vertuous, &
now I take the for a lost foole. In good
soothe whan I sawe the young in Ga-
yette. I iudged the worthie to gouerne
Rome: and nowe that thou arte olde,
thou deseruest nothyng, but to be cast in
a galey as a slaue. O how many thyn-
gee are there to know a man by? There
is not so high a roppe of a hyll, but it
is troden with feete: nor so deepe a sea,
but it is sounded with leade. And in a
hundred yeres one man can not attaine
to know an other mans hert. Tell me
I praie the, what lokedste thou for of
fortune, after so great welthe: Lyuyng

to

to the world, thinke to be in the world. The children of vanitie gee and walke so longe, that at laste their disordinate desire cannot take fro the world their auncke villanies and shamefulnesse, the whiche Fortune dooeth not with theim that she hath reised vnto the skies, thinkest than, that shee shall bowe with thee to the lowest parties? O foole Torcate, thoughtest thou to passe the Sea without perill, to eate fleshe without bones, to drinke wine without lies, to walke in the waies without findyng stoanes, to bye wheat without chaffe? In good sooth, if thou thoughtest to bye yll goodes, without hynderaunce of thy good fame, and so mainteigne thy good renoume, without losse of yll gotten goodes. I would witte of thee, what thou biddest hope to dooe, sith so long season thou hast made a face in the world. xxviii. yere thou hast been in the grace of the worlde, nowit is tyme fro hens foorth to fall at some discord therwith. Abell the kyng of Athiens, hoped to haue but seuen yeres of good prosperitee: Queene Semiramis but only fiue, Abell kyng of the Lacedemoniens fiue, Cutrete kyng of the Caldieus lowre,

Alexander kyng of the Grekes. iii. Amilcar the great of Carthage but two, and out Caius Cæsar Romain but one onely, and many before, and sith not one yere: and sith thou wer the most vnknowen of liuage, the grosest of vnderstandyng, and the least of power, the darkest of fame, and the moste weake in merites: wherefore than complaynest thou on fortune? If thou haddest ben vertuouse in all these. xxx. yeres, thou haddest neuer eaten without thought, nor neuer spoken without suspection, nor slepte without serryng, thinkyng what thou haddest to doe, and wherin fortune myght beguyle the. He that is so long besette about with so many enemies, I can not tell how he should take any sure slepe. Ah Foreate Foreate, the worlde hath so many falles, and we know so yll howe to continue among them, that be worthy, that sette if we are fallen, whan our handes and feete like slaues be so fast tied, that we can not lose them. It fulleth our persones full of vices, strengtheth our sinewes to wickednes, weaketh our hertes in vertues, and finally rendreth our spirites in a traunce, and maketh our vnder-

standyng

berstandyng, and chaungeth our taste, and suffereth vs as beastes, to shewe our euilles that we feele with waylyngs ges, all though as men we durst not shew it. And that this is true: it appeareth, that whan we see, that wee lose, we lament and complayne: and none can helpe hym selfe. This small lesson I write to the to the ende thou shuldest haue in lesse thought. The horse colt that thou biddest send me, leapeth verp well: The spaniell that thou sentst to me, is well, but he is wilde: The caise was verie fatte, and I wouldbe haue eaten it foorthwith, but my wife Faustine busily praied me to keepe it, and thynketh that it was stolen in a gardeyne. I sende to the ii. M. sesterces for to succour the in thy trauailes. And as touchyng thy banishement, at tyme conuenient I shall dispatche thy matters with the senate. The consolacion of the goddis, and the loue of man be with the Torcate. The sodeinnesse of euils, and the vie of the furies be separate fro me Marcus Aurelius. Faustine my wyfe greeteth the: and in lykewyse fro hir part and ours, to thy mother in law, and thy wyfe haue vs recommended.

Marc of Rome sendeth this writyng to Horace of Gaiette.

¶ A letter sent to Domitius of Capue, to comfort him in his banishement.

The fourth letter.

MArke Orafour Romayne, borne on mount Celio, to the Domitian of Capue, salute and consolacion of the goddis consolatours. In this right colde winter, there arose in this land a mighty great wynde, and by reason of the great wynde, arose great quantitie of waters, and the waters haue caused great humidities, and great humidities, breede diuers maladies and diseases: And among all the infirmities of this lande, I haue the goute in my hande, and the sciatica in my legge. For the health of my wife Faustine, I can neither goe nor write, I say it because I can not write to the so long as the cause woulde require, and as thy thankes merriteth, and my desyre coueteth. It is shewed me, that by occasion of a horse, thou hast had strife with Patricio thy neighbour, and that thou art banished

shed from Capue, and set in the prison Mamartine. Thy goodes ar confisked, and thy chyldren banished, thy house caste downe, and thy nephewe is put out of the Senate, and banished the Senate for tenne yeares. It is tolde me, that all the day thou wepest, and wakest by nyght: in compaignie thou dyest, and doest loue to rest solitarily: Thou hatest pleasure, and louest penssiuenesse. And I haue no meruayle: for the sorowfull heartes liue with teares and weepyng, and be mery and laugh in dyeng. I am right sory to see thee lost: but much more, that for so small a thyng thou shouldest be cast away, as for a horse, to lese all thyne estate. O how variable is fortune, and how soone a misaduenture falleth before our eies? Fortune geueth these coups, and we see it not, with hir handes she toucheth vs, and we feele it not: she treadeth vs vnder hir feete: and we know it not: she speaketh in our eares, and we heare hir not, she crieth aloude vnto vs, and we vnderstande hir not, and this is, because we wyll not knowe hir: And finally, whan we thynke we are moste surest, than are we in moste perill.

Trouth it is, that with a litteil wynd, the fruite faileth fro the tree: and with a litte.l sparcle, the house is set a fyre: a small roche breaketh a greatte shippe: and with a litteil stone, the legge is hurte. I sate, that oftentimes of that we feare not, commeth great perill. In a close Fistula, rather than in an open, the surgions doubte the perill. In deepe styll waters, the pylote feareth more than in the greatte hye waues: Of secrete embushement, rather than of open armies, the warrioure doubteth. I wyll not only say of strangers, but of his owne proper, not of enemies, but of freendes, not of cruell warre, but of peace, not of open domage or sclaunder, but of secrete perill, and mischiefe, a wise man ought to beware. How many haue we seene, that the chances of fortune coulde not abate, and yet within a shorte whyle after vnwareneffe with greatte ignominions shame hath ouerthrowē them? I wonlde witte of the, what rest can a persone haue, that trusteth euer vppon the prosperitie of Fortune, syth for so lyght a cause we haue seene so greatte a strife in Rome, and suche a losse to thy house?

howle? Seeyng that I see, I will not feare the wyndes of hir trauailles, nor beleue in the clerenesse of hir pleasures, nor hir thunders shall not feare me, nor will truste vpon hir flatteryinges, nor thanche hir for that shee leaueth with me, nor be sorie for that shee taketh fro me, nor wake for any trouthe that she saith to me, nor rise for any of hir leasynges, nor laugh for any thyng that she desireth of me, nor weepe for geuyng me leaue. If thou knowest not the cause of this, I shall tell thee. Our life is so doubtfull, and fortune so wayward, that she doeth not alway threate in strikyng, nor striketh in threatnyng. The wyse manne goeth not so temperately, that he thinketh at euery steppe to fal, nor liue with so small a thought, to thinke to ouerthrowe in euery plaine path. For oftentymes false Fortune shaketh hir weapon, and striketh not, and an other tyme, striketh without shakyng. Beleue me of one thyng Domitius: That parte of the lyfe is in moste perill, whan with litteli thoughte or care, menne thinke theim selfe moste sure. Wilt thou see the trouth thereof? Call to thy mynde Hercules,

that scaped so many perils by sea and by lande, and yet died betweene his lemmans armes. Laomedon perished not vnder Troy, but was slain in his hous. Great Alexander died not in makyng warre ouer all the earth, but he ended with a litteli poyson. The courageous Caius Cæsar saued him selfe in iii. battailes, & after in the Senate was slain with. xxiii. strokes of penknyues. Asclipio brother of Pompei, perished not saylyng xvii. yere vpon the sea, but he was drowned after in drawyng water at a well. Tenne capitaines that Scipio had with hym in Affrike, that vanquished many harde battailes, as they were mochyng on a bridge, they fell into the bridge, and were drowned. Good Iulio that had ouercom the Parthes, the daie of his triumphe, goyng to his charlotte, there fell a tyle that clauc asunder his head, so that vainglorie was the end of his good life. What should I tell thee more: Thou knowest well, that Lucie my sister, hauyng a nedle on hir bosome, playyng with hir childe betweene hir armes, the childe with his hande hitte the nedell suche a stroke into hir bodie, that he slewe his mother.

Unto

Gaco Ruffyn the Conſule, ſente againſt the Germaines, of our tyme was ſo valiaunt in armes, that none of our predeceſſours ſurmounted hym: yet he kembyng his olde white beares, one of the teeth of the combe entered into his hed, whereby grew an impoſtume, by occaſion wherof, he ended his honorable life for ſo ſmall a caſe. How ſemeth the Domitius? As I do tell the of ſo ſmall a numbre, I could recite infinite exaumples, what miſfortunes fell after good fortunes, what miſchaunce after great glorie, what miſaduenture after great happe, what great cutill they take of their deathe, after the beginnyng of great welth in the life. I beyng as they, knowe not what to deſire, but they beyng as I am, will rather chooſe the laborious and honourable death, than an yll death, and an honorable life. To my ſeemyng, he that will be a manne among menne, and not a beaſt among beaſtes, ought to trauaile for to liue well, and muche more to die better. For at the finall ende, an yll death putteth great doubte of the good life: and the good death executeth the yll life. I haue written to thee at the beginnyng

of my letter, that by reason of the humi-
dities, the gowte greeueth me yll. But
to satisfie thy desire, I would fayne
write with my hande more at length.
Two dayes the loue that I beare to the,
haue foughte with the peine that I en-
dure. My will would write, but my
fyngers can not holde my penne. The
remedie is, sith I may not as I would,
that thou wilt take as thine owne, that
I make doe, as mine owne deede. Faustine
my wife saluteth thee, who by reason of
my diseases, is halfe yll at ease. It is
shewed hir, that thou hast great peyn of
a hurt of thy face: she hath sente thee a
bore with baume, that thy hurte shall
not appere in thy visage. If thou canste
find any greene almondes or new nuttis,
Faustin praieth the to sende hir some by
this bearer. I haue but litteli store of
monie, therfore I sende thee a gowne,
and thy wife a kirtell. No more but I
praie the goddis to geue thee that I de-
sire for thee: and to geue me, that thou
desirest for me. And beside that I doe
write to thee with my hande, I geue to
the mine owne proper heart.

The let-

¶ A letter sent fro the Emperour to Claudius and Claudine his wyfe, because they beyng olde, lyued as yong persons.

¶ The .v. letter.

MArke of meunte Celio to the Claudius and Claudine husbande and wyfe, dwellyng in my warde, I desyre health, sendyng you this letter. The trouth is, because ye are my freendes, and vnder my charge, I enquire of theim that come fro you, of your estates: and by theim that goe to you, I sende recommendacions to you both: yf ye haue my good wyll, demaund it of your heartes. And if in your stomaches ye repute and take me but as a suspicious freend, than I thinke my selfe euen cleane condempned. The cruell forgetfulnesse, the whiche may be causer of mine absence, peraduenture banisheth the good dedes, that ye haue receiued of my persone. If in any thyng I haue intreated you with lies, than I require, that ye intreate me nothyng with trouthe. But if I haue been alwaies your good neigh-

neighbour and freende, if ye haue any nede of mine honour, than be to me as good. Gaio Fulcion my freende, as well as your parent, passyng this way to Alexandrie, hath serued me many thynges, the which wer done in Rome: and amonge other he shewed me one thyng, that caused me to laugh, whan I harde it: and yet it was right greuous to me, whan I thought theron. Some thynges we take sodenly in sport and mockery, the whiche afterwarde, well considered, make vs very sorie. He shewed me, how that ye seme to euery man right auncient, and very yong in your doyng: for you aray your selfe daily with new apparell, as ye should go to weddynges: and where as men do honour you as auncient persones, ye shew your selfe wanton: and whan folke renne to se gewgawes, ye are not the last. There is no lyghtnes in Rome, but it is regestred in your house. Thus ye geue your selfe to pleasures, as they that thinke neuer to haue displeasure. And finally, whan ye should lyft vp your handes, ye entre newly into the wages of the worlde. Truly my neighbours and freendes, to speake with due

reuerence, I am ashamed of your vn-shamefastnes, and am no lesse sory for your faultes. There be diuers greuous faultes, that are made light by the honest withdrawyng of them. And some other that are but small faultes, and findyng no waies to leaue them, are esteemed verey great. By all the goddes I can finde none occasion how for to excuse your cupis: But I see now, wherwith to condemne them. Wherfore pardon me, if that I seeme vnhonest to speake so muche, whan ye be not honest in your liuyng. In good sorth I denay not, but that thou Claudius hast beene right free and liberall of thy persone, and thou Claudine right fayre of visage, and many persons for the beautie of thy forhed haue ben curious to haue had the to wyfe, but I wold wit of the youth of the one, and beautie of the other in vsyng all your lyues in vanitie, what goodly trinkets ye hope to weare in the straitnes of the Sepulchre. O great fooles, ye and fooles againe. Do you not know yet, that the tyme fleeth with mouyng of wynges? The life trauaileth on his way without liftyng of his fete: fortune stretcheth his without

stirryng

stirryng hir armes, and the world voy-
deth it selfe saiyng nothyng, the flesshe
consumeth without felyng, and our glo-
rie passeth as it neuer had been: and fi-
nallie death assayleth vs, er euer he
knocke at the gate. Certainely it is im-
possible for to make sinewes of bloudde,
of veines to make boanes, of a craggye
rocke a plaine waie, and of possible to
make impossible. I meane that none
shall thinke, but that the greenenesse of
youth shall waste and wyther in age.
O worlde, what a worlde art thou: so
littell is our force, and our weakenesse
so great, that without resistyng drow-
nest vs willyngly in the depenesse of thy
perillouse whyrlepoole: and hydest vs
in the thickest of thy mounteignes, and
leadest vs out of the brode waie, wan-
deryng by thy narow pathes, and brin-
gest vs into the rugged waie. I dooe
meane, that thei that be greattest in fa-
uour, thou bringest into daunger, to the
entent that with one stroke of thy foote,
thou maiest ouerthrow theim. O world
two and fiftie yere I haue been in thee,
and yet thou neuer saidest one trouth to
me, and I haue taken thee with tenne
thousande lyes. I neuer desiered any
thyng

thyng of thee, but thou bidden promise it me, but thou neuer gauest me any thing promised me. I neuer treated with thee but thou beguiledst me: I neuer attued at thee, but thou lost me: I neuer saw thyng in thee, whereby I should loue thee. For all that wee see in thee is worthie to be abhorred. And beside this, I wote not what is the worlde. O what faute is in vs, thy worldlie wretches: For if thou hate vs, we dare not hate thee: if thou braule with vs, we must be still: if thou spurne at vs, we must suffre thee: if thou beate vs with a staffe, we say nothyng: And yet if thou wouldest haue vs gone, we will not go. And worst of al is, that we had rather serue the for nothyng with trauaile, than the goddis with prayer and rest. I sweare to the by the immortall goddis, that oftentimes I make accõpt of my yeres passed: and an other time I reuolue my bokes, to see what I haue redde. And likewise I demaund of my frendes, to geue me counsel to know, wherin it is that I wold spede. I beyng at Rhodes, redyng Methorike, My Lord Adrian keepyng me there, at the age of .xxi. yere, my yong flesshe, and no lesse weake than tender, at the firste

woorde

woorke I founde solitarinesse, and the solitarinesse with libertee adored the world: In adoryng I felt it, in feelyng I folowed it, in folowyng I ouertooke it, in ouertakyng I toke it, in takyng I proued it, in prouyng I tasted it, in tastyng I founde it bitter, in findyng it bitter, I hated it, in hatyng it, I felte it, in leauyng it, it retourned, and retournyng I receiued it. And in this maner, two and fiftie yeres, we haue eaten of one breade, and dwelled in one howse. Whan I sawe it displeased, I serued it, whan it sawe me thoughtfull, it chered me, whan I sawe it in prosperitee, I demaunded it, whan it sawe me merie, it beguiled me. And thus we togither vnto this daie, not geuyng me leaue to goe, nor I willyng to departe fro it. O worlde, thou haste so many countenaunces in the vanitee, that thou leadest all wanderyng in vnstablenesse. Sith we suffer the to take vs, thou wilt neuer deliuer vs, if we withdrawe our feete fro the snare of fortune forthwith thou fetterest our legges faste with yrons: and if by chance we fill the yrons, anon thou manacklest our handes: and though the waie be straite, the pathe sharpe,

sharpe, the iourneie long, and our flesshe weake, yet our bodies are euer laden with vices, and our hearte⁹ fulfilled with thoughtes and pensiuenesse. Of one thyng I haue great meruayle, and I can not deuise what it is, without anie constraincte to the contrarie, we goe suerlie ouer the bridge, and yet we will goe an other waie: and though the same waie be sure, yet we will aduenture into the guise: if the waies bee drie, yet wil we goe through the dyrte and myre and plasshe: hauyng meate for our liuyng, we searche for poyson to kyll vs: we searche to be lose, and maie be assured: without interest we commit sinne, seeyng peyne commyng withall: And finallie, to the intent that we should bee taken for good, we shoote at the whyte of vertues, and hitte the butte of vices. One thyng I confesse, though it be mine owne shame: Peraduenture in time to come, it shall be profitable to some other. In fiftie yeres of my life, I would proue all the vices of this life, to see if any thyng might haue satisfied the humayne malice: And after I had seen all thyng, I founde, that the more I did eat, the more I died for hun-

ger: The more I slept, the more sluggy I was: the more I dranke, the more thyrste I hadde, the more I reuled, the more weerye I was: the more good I hadde, the more courteouse I was: the more I sought, the lesse I found: And finallye I neuer tooke peine for any thyng, but I was euer lette, and than anone I hadde appetite to an other. Let no man thinke to lyue in the flesshe, and satisfie the flesshe. It hath power to take fro vs our lyfe: and we haue no power to take from it the lasciuious couetyse. I woulde fayne knowe of the goddis, why our daies shoulde haue an ende. O cruell goddis, what is this? We can neuer passe one good lyues daie, we doe but tast it, and so passeth our lyfe, and lyfe is but a dreame, and death waketh it. Yet euery man knowe, that the worlde taketh our wyll, and wee with our good wyll, gyue it thereto: and it taketh our wyll to the ende to content vs, and prayse that we praise, and the tyme passeth so, that we lyue after the cursed tyme. To attayne vertues, we haue good desire, but to attayn to vices we put to all our workes. This haue I sayde for you Claudius

and

and Claudine, that in three score yeres, ye wyll not issue nor goe out of the pryson of the world: Hauyng your feete putrified with yrons and chaines, what is than to be hoped of yong personnes, which be of fiue and twenty yeres old? Except my memory fayle me, whan I was with you, ye had your neuewes, sonnes of your children maried, and nieces, doughters of your doughters maried: & me thinketh, whan the guynes come, the season of cheries is not come: and whan the new wine is tunned: the dry huskes ar cast out. Can ye suffre dyuers neuewes, sonnes to your children in your hous, and few yeres in your persons? Very seldome we se fruit and the floures togither: for whan the one is ripe, and in season, than the other is cleane gone and auoided.

¶ In this case I thynke greatte meruaile, howe ye can bee of many yeres, and seme to be yong. I know none other thyng, but whan ye maried Lamberte, your own doughter to Drusio, & Matrine your niece, doughter of your doughter, with Lambert that wer al lytle and yong children: and sith that ye bee of a good age, and lacke good, ye

may geue vnto eche of them twentie yeres of your age, in steede of their dowrie. And so ye shall vnlade you of your yeres, and charge you with other mennes goodes and substaunce. No lesse this matter passeth in thought, thē the short cloath dooeth in a false weauers hande. Ye haue streigned it on the tentours, and drawen it on the perche, for to lengthen the life. If ye were made faire and cleere cordwainers ware, and sweete of sauour, that ye might be drawen out at length, it were well dooen, but ye are but as fruicte of almondes, seemyng drie without, and wourme eaten within. For the loue that I haue to you, and for neighbourhoode that ye haue had with me, I desyre styll freendshippe of you, that lyke as I knewe you young, and veray young, so to know you olde, and veray olde. I say not that ye surmount in age, but your witte fayleth you. O Claudius and Claudine, I wyll ye know, that to susteigne youth, and to deface age, to length the lyfe, and driue away death: it is not in mennes handes that desyre it, it is the goddis that dooe geue it, whiche accordyng to Justice and our couetise geueth

vs

de lyfe by weight, and death without measure. Ye may knowe, that our nature is corruption of our body, and our body is putrifaction of our witte, and our witte is guide to our sowle, and our soule is mother of our desires, and our desyres are fleares of our youth, and our youth token of our age, and our age spie of our death, and death the house of our lyfe, wherinto youthe goeth on foote, and from age, we can not flee on horsebacke. I would witte a thyng of you, what fynde ye in this lyfe? Wherfore booeth lyfe content you after foure score yeres of age? eyther ye haue been good or yll: if ye haue been good and vertuouse, ye shall not reioyce you with yll goddis, if ye haue been yll, than as well desire death, to the intent ye should be no more yll, or els iustly ye might be slaine by Iustice. For he that hath been yll tyll three score yeres of age, in hym there is no hope of amendment. When the corragious great Pompei, and Caius Cæsar wer enemies, and beyng in cruell ciuill battayles, Rome was infamed, and them self lost. The annales shewe, that suche as came in fauour of Julius Cæsar, cam out of the west, and the suc-

 cours

tours of Pompey out of the east, among other there came certaine people out of Barbarie, dwelling among the mountaines Riffees toward Pade: Their custome was, when they came to thage of fiftie yeres, to make great fyres, & brenne theim selfe quicke in sacrifice to their goddes, and the same day the parentes and children would make great feastes, and eate of the flesshe halfe brent, and drinke wine with the asshes of the bones. This was seene with the eies of Pompey, because that he accomplished the yeres of fiftie in the campe. O golden worlde, wherin were such men. O happy people, that vnto all the worldes to come, haue left such a memory of them. They dispised the world, and forgat them selfe. What strokes gaue they to Fortune? What delites for the flesh: and how litell set they by their liues, and yet more, to set so small store by death? O what bridell was this for the vicious, and what hope for the vertuous, what confusion for them that loued this lyfe, and what ensample not to feare death, haue they left vs? And sith they despised their own proper lyfe, it is than to be thought, that they died not to the

entent

entent to take other mennes goodes, to thinke that our life neuer shal haue end, therfore our couetise neuer hath ende. O glorious people, and tenne thousand tymes blessed, that leste their sensualitee, and vanquished their naturall wil, beleue not that ye see, but geue faithe to that ye neuer sawe, as they that see nothyng gote againste the fatall destinies: who goeth against the waie of Fortune, geue a wrinche to the life, robbe the bodie at the deathe, winne honour of the goddis, not that thei should length your life, but to take the rest of the life. Archagatus Surgien, and Anthonius the phisicion, and Esculapius the father of medicines, I thinke wanne but litteli in that land. Who commanded these Barbariens, to take syrope in the morynng, and to take pilles at nighte, and to refreshe theim with milke, to take cleere barley to annoynct their liuers, to date to be let bloud, and to morow to take a purgacion, to eat one thyng, and to abstein from many thynges? Than me thinke that thei beeyng of fiftie yere of age, and you of. xxx. at the least, should bee egall with theim in wisedome. And if we will not take beth in good worth,

yet at the leaſt amend the vil life. I re-membre well of a long tyme, that Fabricius our neighbour willed vs, to be-ware of a mocherie, the whiche if it be not broken, there ſhall folowe great diſhonour. And ſith he ſhewed me ſo good a leſſon, I will paie you with the ſame money. I will ſhewe it you, if ye poore aged folkes doe not knowe it, ye bee ſuche, that your eyes are bleared, your noſes droppyng, your heares whitt, your hearyng dull, your tongue faulte-ryng, your teeth waggyng, your face wrinkled, your feete ſwollē, your ſhoul-ders croked, and your ſtomake diſtem-pered finally if the graues could ſpeke, thei might rightfullie call for you to come, and inhabite in them. Of trouth it is great compaſſion to beholde young ignorāunce, that open their eies, to know the infortunes of this life, whan it is tyme to cloaſe theim, and to enter into the graue. And thereof commeth, that it is in vayne, to geue counſaile to vaine young people. For youthe is without experience of that it doeth, and is ſuſpecte of that it heareth, and will not beleue that is ſaied, and diſ-prayſeth other menues counſayle, and

is

is right poore of their owne. And therfore I saie Claudius and Claudine, my frendes, I finde without comparison, none so vil an ignorance of goodnesse, that holdeth these young personnes, as is the obstinacie of these aged personnes in vil. The diffiniction of vil, is a manne not to knowe that he ought to know, yet it is worse to haue the knowlage of wysedome, and to liue lyke a brute beaste. O ye olde gowtie people, ye forgeat your self, and renne in poste, after the lyfe, and ye neuer regarde what shall fall, tyll ye bee suche as ye would not, and without power to returne backe: and hereof cõmeth that ye lacke of life, ye wil supplie it with folie. Than awake ye that bee slombryng, & haue no force to sleepe, open your sleepie eies, and accustome you to do well: take that is nedeful for you: and finallie appointe you betymes with death, er he make execution of your life. Lu. yeres I haue knowen them of the worlde, yet I coulde neuer knowe none so olde, nor so putrified in their membres, but that their hertes were hole to thinke vnhappinesse, and their tongues hole to make lyes. Take hede, ye poore olde personne,

me thinche lieth sommer is past, ye haste forwarde with the tyme: and if ye tarie a small season, yet ye make haste to take lodgeyng. I meane, that though ye haue past the daie in the sea with perill, the night of deathe will take you at the port of health. Mockes dor passe with mockeynges, and trouthe with trouthe: though I haue seene you right young and hardie, now I see you verie olde: Though the knyghte passe his course, yet it is not his faulte, if the horse be not well reigned: but at the end of his course, he will trimme his horse. Let not that begile you, that of custome hath begiled men. That is, ye shalbe as well esteemed thereby, as though ye had much money. I beleue ye folow diuers, and yet they all haue enuie at you. But truste me, that at the end, honour is geuen to a young person poore and vertuous, rather than to an old person riche and vicious. The riche maie haue power to bee more esteemed with poore people, and accompaigned with riche and couetous: but the vertuous poore person shall be better esteemed and lesse hated. What can be greater confusion to a person, or more shame to our mo-

ther

ther Rome, than to see in diuers places, the olde people behaue and appointe them as young folke, as though they lyke the vine leaues did newely burgeine? What thyng is it to see the old personnes, now in our daies, braide and make fayre their white heares, trymme and kembe their beardes, weare straite shoes, their hosen garded, their shurtes frounced, their cloakes of skarlet, their bagges embroudred, their cheynes of golde about their neckes, fringes of golde and siluer about their apparell, Ostrige fethers vpon their hattes lyke Grekes: perles and ringes on their fingers lyke Indians, their gownes longe like flamine priestes, & finally woorst of all, when death hath geuen them daie, than they answere, that newly they wil serue a lady! O how many haue I knowen in Rome, that were highly renoumed in their youth, and after thorough wanton lightnesse they were but lost in their age: and woorst of all, they lost their renoume in their age, and the fauour of their parentes, and the profite of their children. Certeinly Guagin, Caton of the auncient linage of the Catons, was in Rome, a priest of the law fiue yeres,

and

and prouost. iii. yeres and Censoure. ii. yeres, and dictatour one yere, and Consule fiue tymes, and whan he was past the age of. lxv. yeres, than he began to serue Rosane doughter of Gneus Curtius, a lady right faire and young: and he doted so sore in hir loue, that he spent all that he had to serue hir, and would weepe lyke a childe whan he saw hir. It fortuned this ladie fell sicke of a feuer, and she lusted to eate newe grapes, and it was in spryng tyme, whan there was none rype as than in Rome. She sent for some to the fielde of Danubius, that was a. M. and v. C. myle thense, and this was shewed to the Senate, and they ordeigned, that Rosana was cloased in with the virgins Vestales. and the old man was banished perpetually out of Rome, and his children liued in great pouertie, and the father died infamed. I beleue that ye haue heard of this. There were diuers that reputed for a great villany the deede of the olde louer, and praised the sentence of the Senate. But I thinke if Guagin had had as many young persons in his banishement, as there were olde amorous persons that toke by him exaumple,

ple, I thinke there should not be so ma-
ny men lost, nor so many women so yll
matyed. And therefore the best is, that
suche people, whan they be warned by
theyr seruauntes, and reproued by their
parentes, and desired by theyr frendes,
that they make not excuse and say, how
they be not amorous, but in mockery.
Whan I was verey young, both of age
and witte, on a night I mette with a
neighbour of myne nigh to the capitoll,
I was his nephew, and son to his sonne,
and saied to him: My lorde Fabricius,
ye are amorous thus and thus. He aun-
swered me, I do it but for pastime. Cer-
tayniy I had meruayle to mete hym at
that houre, and I was abashed of that
answere that he gaue me. In them that
be fore aged, and of sadnesse and grauis-
tee, such requestes ought not to be cal-
led amours, but rather dolours, not a
pastime, but a lost tyme, no mockery
but a foltshnes: for in loue with mocke-
ry, folowerh the trouth of infamy. To
the Claudi⁹ and Claudine, I demaund
of you olde louers, what is it to be po-
lysshed and arrayed as ye be so gayly,
but the bronde of the tauerne, where
there is nothyng but vinegre, fayre

egges

egges and nothyng in them, gilt pilles, and bytter in tast, an olde bottell and a new stoppell, a hole wounde rancled vnderneth, the figure of an ore to take pattriches, a slipper waie, where no fote is sure, and finally and old louer is as a knight decaied, that helpeth to lese money, and can helpe no man to perill. Of trouth the olde lecherous louer is as a swyne with a white head and a grene taile. Than we thinke, ye that be my frendes and neighbours, ye take no herde in breakyng the wynges out of season, whan the ferbets be gone: and yet ye beguile me not, to say that there is tyme inough: Beleue me, that that may be done in the day, leaue it not tyll the night of your age. For the blunt knife cutteth but yll with the edge, and he that is wont for to eate the flesshe, can not eate the bones. Than let vs come to the remedy, to redresse this domsmage, that is, if that the house begin to fall, shore and staie it not with pieces and sclender tymber, but with streight prikets of the lyfe, that we haue to yelde the goddis, and to men by good fame. And yf the tyme of all our vertues, be redy to be gathered, at the least let vs

gather

gather that is left vs by vnderſtādyng. And ſith the waters of our teſt, are waſhed with our yll workes, let vs water them with new muſte of good deſyres, and than the good goddis will be content with the ſeruices, that we ought to do, for the merites and rewardes that thei do to vs, ſo that if we deſire, to attaine golde for our workes, yet to paie vs with the copper of our good deſires. And finally. I ſay to you Claudius and Claudine, if ye haue offred the floure of your youth to vices, offre nowe at this time the bianne of your age to the goddis. I haue writen thus largely to you, as I thinke: and bycauſe ye ſhall not be taxt as cowardes, nor I for hardy, giue neyght of this letter to any perſone.

¶ And I deſyre you to haue me recommended vnto all my neighbors in Rome, namely vnto Druſine. the honourable wydow. I ſende to the two thouſande ſeſterces, thou ſhalt giue a thouſande of them to Saurina the doughter to thy doughter, I ſend it to hir for a pleſure, whiche ſhe dydde me at a feaſte. Fauſtine my wife is verraye ſycke. Thou ſhalte giue the other thouſande to the Veſtale virgines, that they maye

praie

prayse for hir vnto the goddis. Vnto the Claudine, Faustine my wyfe, sendeth a coffer, but by the goddis I dooe not knowe what there is within it. Nowe that ye be aged, I beseche the goddis to sende you and me, and my wife, for to end the reste of our daies in a good life. Marc your neighbour and freend hath writtен this with his owne hand.

¶ A letter sent fro Marke the empes rour to Labinia, a Romayne wyf dow, for to comfort hir for the death of hir husbande.

¶ The. vi. letter.

MArke of mount Celio, first consul Romain, sent against the Daces, to thee Labinia Romaine Ladie, wyfe to my good freende Claudine, salute to the, and consolacion of the goddis consolatours. I thinke well: thou hast suspecte, that I haue so litteli set by thee, sith in thy profounde and greuous hurtes, my consolacion hath been slouthfull. But I remember thy nobilenesse, whiche can neuer fayle: and my good will, the whiche hath neuer desisted to serue thee. I am in suretee that thy

thy great vertue shuld put awaie the suspect. For though I am the last to comfort the, yet I am the first that feeleth thy dolours, and shall not be the last to remedy thy troubles. And in case that ignorance is the ende of all vertues, esperance for all vices, as well sometyme great pleasure taketh away rest from the wyse folkes, and sclandreth the innocentes: muche better amonge vs latyns we fynde with ignorance of vices, more thā the grekes do with the knowlage of vertues. If that we be ignorant we haue no peyn to abyde it, nor sorowe to take it. I saie it bicause I haue knowen, that I woulde not know, and that is, the trauailes ar at an ende of Claudine thy housband, and now begynneth the sorowe of Labinia. I haue knowen it certayne daies, and woulde not discouer it to the, for it should haue ben crueltie. She that hath been in trouble so longe a space with absence, that I shoulde haue gyuen knowlage of the death of suche an entierly desyred husbande: and it had been no reason that she, of whom I haue receyued so many good dedes, shuld haue of me so yll newes. And sith the houre that I knew,

that ye wyst therof, my peyne hath been double. I scie his death, and now I scie in his wrath my solitarincsse and thy desolacion. Thou hast reason to wepe, not for that he is with the goddis in resse, but for vs miserable persons, liuyng in the power of so many illes. therfore we shold not cesse to take peine and sorow. O Labinia, oftentimes I haue thought for what thyng I myght first wepe, for the yll that lyueth or for the good that dieth. For as much hurteth the yll that is founde, as the good that is losse. It is greatte peine to see these innocentes dye, and surely it is no lesse peine to see the malicious people lyue. But of that that necessitee muste needes come, whan it cometh we ought not to sclaunder it. Shew me Labinia, doest thou not knowe, of how good conuersacion the goddis be, to whom we hope to goe, and how yll the men bee, with whom we are conuersant, that as the yll are borne to dye, in lykewyse the good dyeth to lyue? For a good man alwaie lyueth in dying, and the yll alwaies dieth in liuyng. And than sith the goddis haue caused hym to come to theim, it is no greatte thyng that thei haue taken

hen fro the. I am in certain, thy deſi-
red houſebande Claudine, and my true
frende, ſeyng where he is, and remem-
bryng what he hath ſcaped, had rather
to be ſtill there as he is, than to retarne
againe to the. of trouth the remedies
for widowes is not to thinke of any cõ-
pany paſſed, nor of the ſolitarineſſe pre-
ſent, but to thinke of the reſt, that they
hope to come to. If hytherynto thou
haſt ben in peine, abidyng in thy houſe,
now reioyce the, becauſe he abideth
for the in his, for thou ſhalt be much
better intreated among the goddis, than
here among men, nor conſeyue not to
thynke that thou haſt loſt hym all ons-
ly. For ſith we all reioyced of his lyfe,
we ar than bound to wepe for his death.
The greateſt ſorow to a ſicke herte a-
monge all other ſorowes, is to ſee other
reioyce at his doleure: and contrary-
wyſe, the greateſt eaſe amonge all gre-
ues of fortune, is to ſee that other fee-
leth their ſorow. All that my frende
wepith for me with his eies, and al that
he feleth of my ſorow, diſchargeth ſome
what myne inward peyne. The bookes
in the time of Auguſt the emperour ſhew
eth, how as he was nere to the tiuet of

Danubius, he founde a maner of people, hauyng this custome. The same houre whan a husbande taketh a wyfe, or a louer, they would sweare by theyr goddis, neuer to weepe nor sorow for any maner of fortune, but to forget theyr owne proper troubles, and to die to remedy their louer, and so in lykewise eche to doe with other. O glorious worlde, O right happy age, O people of eternall memory, wherin the men wer so humble, and their louers so trew, that wold forgette theyr owne sorowe, and weepe for others. O Rome beyng Rome, O time yll spent, O lyfe yll applyed, O small thought recheiesse in these daies, that hertes present separate from welth, and assured without remedy in euyll, that men forgettyng that they be men, tourne theim selfe to the beastes? I desyre to geue the lyfe, and thou dyest to take away my lyfe. Thou weepest to see me laugh, and I laugh to see the wepe. And thus to no profite of any of vs, we leese, and we reioyce in leesyng of our selfe. By the law of an honest man, I sweare to the Lauinia, yf thy remedy lay in my handes, as thy sorow doeth at my herte, thy pitifull wee-

pynges

pynges should not hurt me, nor thy heauie and wofull solitarinesse of thy husbande: but sith thy remedie and my desire can not be accomplyshed, and that with death, nor with them that be mad, we haue no power, than remitte it into the handes of the Goddis, who can muche better deliuer vs than we can choose. We see by experience naturall, that some sickenesse is healed by woordes that bee saied to vs, and some by woordes that be laied to vs, and some with woordes do leaue other medicines: I saie this, because the heartes that be in peyne make a sea of thoughtes, somtime comforted with benefites dooen to the person, more than with woordes spoken in their eares: an other time the sorowfull heart is more comforted with woordes of a freend, than with all other seruices of the world. O how sorowfull am I, for in all these am I fautie, considerynge the highnesse of the honorable ladie Romaine, and the small abilitee of me, Marc of mount Celio: I see my self so vnable to comfort the, and to remedie thee I lacke substance. I haue made the a sore wound the which wold be taken in wooth. I will not paie thee

with inke and paper, that which I may do with my person: for he that geueth counsaile with woordes, maie remedy with woorkes, if he shew himselfe a friend in tyme past, not taken in suspect to be an enemie in tyme to come. If thou hast reputed me hitherto for thy neighbour, and parent to thy husband, I pray thee now to take me for thy husbande in loue, and for thy father in counsayle, and for sonne in seruice, and for aduocate in the Senate, in suche maner, that I hope thou shalt say, all that I haue lost in many, I haue found in Marke alone. And because that is greuous conflictes, where as craft and subtiltie is forgotten, the vnderstandyng is altered, and the reason withdrawen, than there is as muche necessitie of good counsell as of a meane remedy. Claudine nowe dead, was my kuende, and I Marke aliue am his, and also by thy deseruyng, thou maiest commaunde me what thou wilt: and for the loue that I haue to thee, thou maiest desire of me any thyng nedefull. I pray the eschue the extremitie of the Romaine widowes. For in all extremities lyeth the vice, for all such worieth themselfe, and annoieth

the

the goddis, and lett theim that be aliue, and do no profite to theim that be dead, but geue suspection to them that be yll, as did Fuluius wife, the noble Marthe Marcello, she seeyng hir husband buried in the feelde of Mars, scratched hir visage, and tare hir heare, and brake hir teeth, and at euery place sowned, and two Senatours held hir by the armes, because shee should not hurte hir selfe. Than saied Flauius Censorius, let hir alone, for this daie shee will folowe the iourneie of wydowes, and so it was, for whyles that the boanes of Marcello were a brennyng, shee was intratyng to marrie an other husbande, and yet more to be noted, one of the Senatours that ledde hir, gaue hir his hand, as one Romaine to an other by perpetuall mariage. This case was so soule, and taken of euerie man for a great villanie, and all the Romains there present wer abashed, and wer in suspect neuer after to beleue wydowe in Rome. I saie not this Labinia, because thou wilt doe so: for by the god Mars I sweare, the herte of Marthe hath of thee no suche suspect, nor thy great age will not suffer it, nor the auctorites of so sadde a Matrone

will demand it. I require the right hartilie, forget not the honestee that ought to be in a Romain woman, nor retraite that is requisite in a widow. For if thou be a wydow of solitarinesse, that thou feiest by him that is dead, than comfort thee of the reputacion that is holden of thee by them that be liuyng. I will saie no more to thee at this tyme, but that thy renoume may be suche with al men, to cast suche a bridell vpon theim that be yll, to cause theim to be still, and to them that be good, to geue them spurres to serue thee. And if ye will thus doo, take no thought for any businesse that ye haue in the Senate. My wife Faustin greteth the, and oftentymes wepeth for this misaduenture. I send thee moneie to paie thy creditours. The goddis that haue geuen rest to Claudine thy husbande, geue comforte and consolacion to Labinia his wife.

Marke of mounte Celio hath written this with his owne hande.

A letter

A letter sent by Marke the Emperour to Cincinatus his freende, because he beeyng a gentilmanne became a marchaunte.

The. vii. letter.

MArke Edilis Censorie, to the Cincinatus of Capue, sende salutacion for thy person, force and vertue against sinister Fortune. With the feast Berecinte, mother of the Goddes, I haue seene no seruaunt of thy howse, nor letter of thy hande, that I haue redde, the whiche putteth me in great suspection of thy health, and that thou arte in some perill, or els thou displaysest our amitee. Dischargeyng not thy selfe with so litteli thought, nor forget vs not with so great recheleſnesse: for thy trauaile can not be so muche in writyng, as it should be consolacion to me to reade thy letters, and if thy hande ware slowe from trauaile of writyng, yet enforce mine hearte for mine ease, wherein is semblaunt of true freendes, In that I will put the fro annoyaunce, and thou to do me pleasure: Thou knowest well the small distaunce that is betweene Capue and mount Celio, was

not the cause of our frendshippe, but the space betwe to Illirico shoulde not cause vs to be straungers. The delicate wynes sent out of their owne countreie to straungers take the greatter might:e, and the ferther that the persons of true frendes be separate, the soner thei ought to unite and ioigne together their mynides. Shewe me I praie thee Cincinate, sith thou haste euer founde me trewe, why hast thou any suspect of my desire? The greene leaues outward sheweth, that the tree is not drie inwarde: and the good woorkes openlie notifieth the inwarde heart secretelie. Where it is not profite, there is alwaies breakyng and failyng in seruice: for he that perfectlie loueth, perpetuallie and faithfullie seruetb. And I am as muche astonied of thy slouthe, in demaundyng somewhat of me, as of thy cowardise to write. I will confesse the one trouth, if thou haddest as muche hardinesse as will, and thought of the small effecte of my letter might satisfie to the greatnesse of thine understandyng, it should abide than for yll doorn, but not for shorte, as he that throweth his speare. In tyme paste whan I was younge,

and

and thou olde, thou in thy counſailes, and I with my money, eche gaue to o= ther: but at this houre, that thy head is white, men reken thee to be old, and yet thy woorkes accuſe the to be yong. Trea= ſon is, that I ſuccour thy pouertie with money, and to remedy thy lyghtneſſe with counſell. For the good wyll that I haue to thee, and for the law of amitie that I owe to the, I wyll aduertiſe the as a vertuous manne ought to doe, and that is, to remember the benefites that he hath receiued, and to forgeat the in= iuries dooen to him: eſteeme muche his owne ſmall power, and hold the great= neſſe of other at nothyng: fauour the good, and diſſimule with the euill: be great with the greateſt, and communi= cable with your inferiours, preſently doe good deedes, and alſo of them that be abſent ſpeake good woordes. The gre= uous loſſes of Fortune, holde them in ſmall eſtimacion, and the ſmall loſſe of honour, holde that in great eſtimacion, for one thyng aduenture not many, and for diuers doubtfull, aduenture not A certaintie: and finally be friende to one, and enimy to none. Theſe thyn= ges ought he to haue, that amonge

good

good wyll be accompted good. I knowe well thou hast left to be victour of the warre, and now thou hast set thy selfe by land and by sea to vse marchaundise. Thou makest me sore abasshed, to conquere thyne ennemies as a Romaine, and now to take on the, the office, to persecute thy freendes as a tyran. wilt thou doo yll to thy neighbours, and leaue the straungers? Wilt thou take away the lyuyng from him that geueth vs liuyng, and take away death from him that taketh away our lyfe? Wilt thou to them that be mouers and strangers geue moderacion, and from theim that be sobre take away theyr rest? Thou wylt geue to them that take away from vs, and take from them that geue vs: deliuer theim that be condemned, and condemne Innocentes! Thou wylt be tyraunt to the common wealth, and not defendour of thy countrey. Than sith to all this he aduentureth him, that leaueth deedes of armes, and becommeth a marchaunte, I study sore, what hath meued thee to leaue chiualry, wherin thou hast had great honour, and now to take on thee an office, whereby foloweth so muche

shame

shame and rebuke. Surely I thynke in the none other excuse, but that thou art olde, and canst not clyme the mountaines, and now thou sittest styll, and robbest the plaines. The olde men olde malady, whan outwarde force faileth them, than forthwith they arme theim with malice inwarde. I say it by the fore courtous persones, as thou arte nowe, Whiche art neuer satisfied, but styll desirous of more. One thyng I wyll say, thou haste taken an office, whereby all thy felowes haue robbed in diuers dates, thou shalt giue accompt therefore in one houre, ye and after the tyme shall come, that thou shalt lese all in a moment. For the goddis permitte, that one shall be a chastisement of byuers, and longe tyme chastiseth all.
Howis it my freende Cincinate, that in the house of thy father, Cincinate, were speares, and not wurynges hangyng? I haue seene his hall full of armure, and not of tardels: and portall and gates full of knightes, and not of marchauntes. Certainly there haue I sene the scole of nobleness, and not as it is now the denne of theues. O Cincinate, cursed be so vilayne an office,

the

the marchaunte lyue poorely to die ryche: and let vs say agayn, cursed be it, because the couetise of one that is vil, would be accomplished to the preiudice of many that be good. I wyll not hurt the by thy predecessours, but I wyll admertise the of thy misery and of thy predecessours. If thou thinkest that thy vertue shoulde holde to the ende of the worlde, as the worlde holdeth to the, and it seemeth by thy whyte heares, holde me excused of the trauayle in perswadyng the to here me. Howbe it, it is reason, that the gate of so great a cause be knocked at, with the hammer of some warnyng, and to bring it to good reason, of necessitie it must passe the myle: and to make clere the vnderstandyng from tyme to tyme, of very nede there requireth counsell. Diuers tymes wise men faile, because they wold faile, but if the thynges be of such qualitie, that wisedome sufficeth not to assure theym, than it is nedefull, that his will be vntied, and his vnderstandyng dissolued, and his owne proprie opinion void, and than incontinent to take a thede to the aduise of an other. Take good hede Cincinnate

nate, where as the foundacions bee not well edified, the buyldynges are in perill. The dongeon of this worlde, wherein the children of vanitee doee abyde, is founded on the sande. For let it be neuer so sumptuouse, yet a lyttell blaste of wynde will cause it to shake, and a lyttell heate of prosperitee will open it, and a lyttell rayne of aduersitee will deuide it, and within a shorte whyle or space, whan we leaste take heede, it will fall all flatte on the earth. If the pillers bee of syluer, and benches of golde, and though the benchers be kynges, and continue a thousand yere, and take into the entrayles of the earth: yet they can synde no stedfaste rocke nor mountain, wherein to close the goodis of their predecessours, and their estates perpetuall. The goddis immortall haue made all thynges communicable to men mortall, except immortalitie: and therfore they bee called immortall, because thei neuer die, & we be called mortal and fallyng, because we all take an ende. How stronge so euer the walles bee, yet greatte age causeth it to fall to ruine. Two thynges seemeth to bee free, the whiche fortune can not sette abacke,

a backe, nor the tyme cause to be forgotten, and they be these: The good or yll renoume among men, and the peyne or rewarde that they that bee good or yll haue of the goddis. O my frende Cyncinate, thus atcheueth the persones: but the goddis neuer. What grene or rype, or rotten holdeth any season the fruite of the tree floured? I esteeme it nothyng, because it must die by nature. Dow be it diuers tymes in leaues and floures we beare the froste of some malady, or the blaste of some enuious mishap. Longe is the webbe in makyng: but it that is made in many daies, is cut a sonder in a moment. Semblably it is a pitious thyng to see a man dye with so great trauaile, and to be set in the state of honour, and afterward we regardyng neyther the one nor the other, and yet we se it perishe. And without any memory of any thyng abidyng. O my frende Cincinate, for the loue betwen vs I praie the, and by the immortal goddis I coniure the, beleue not the worlde, the whiche vnder the colour of a lyttell golde, hydeth muche filthynes: and vnder colour of trouth chaungeth vs into a. M. lyes: and for a short

delyte

delite geueth vs a. M. displeasures. To them whom it sheweth most loue, it begyleth with greattest tromperies, to whom the worlde geueth most goodes, it procureth moste domages: to theim that serueth it with mockeries, it rewardeth with true recompences: and to theim that loue it truely, it geueth them goodes of mockeries: finally whā we slepe most surest, it waketh vs with great perill. What wilt thou saie than of the worlde, shewe me? One thyng I wyll tell the, and me thynke thou shouldest not forgette it: and that is, we ought not to beleue the vayne vanities that wer see with our eyes, rather than the great meruailes that we here with our eares. One thyng I haue regarded, and by longe experience I haue knowen it, that but a few houses painted, nor stalles raised vp, we haue seene in Rome: but of a small tyme they take no thought for the walles, but they haue cruell enmities with their neighbours, and great annoy of their heyres, and importunate shame of their freendes, and double malice of their ennemies, and enuious profitte in the senate, and somtyme to put a gouernour

out of possession thei set loure in honor: and finally all that with great thought haue be gathered for their child, whom thei loue well with great rest, somtyme an nother heyre enioyeth it, of whom thei thynke least. It is a iust sentence, that suche as beguyle diuers with yll dedes in their lyfe, should be begyled of their vaine thoughtes at their death. Cruell shoulde the goddis be, and right greuous for men to suffre, that the yll that hath gathered for one heyre in the preiudice of diuers that be good, should enioy it many yeres. We thinke it should be a soueraign foly to bee borne wepyng, to die sighyng, and to lyue laughyng. The rule to gouerne all partes ought to be egall. O Cincinate, who hath begyled the, that for a potte full of water, thou hast nede of a greatte laake of this worlde to passe this wretched lyfe? wilt thou slay awaie the shynne of thy handes with the cord of thoughtes, breake thy body in battayle with greatte trauayle, and aduenture thyne honour for one potte of water? What wilte thou more that I should saie: but that to fill a potte of thy goodes, thou wilt suffre a. M. perils. And in the vyle

exercisyng of thy marchaundise, thou doubtest not for leesyng of thy credence. And finally, I sweare to the, thou shalt abyde dead for thurst, as though there were no water in the fieldes. If thou wylt dooe by my counsayle, desire death of the goddis, to rest the as an aged wise man, and demaunde not richesse to lyue yll as a yonge foole. I haue sore wept for many, that I saw in Rome departed out of this worlde, and for the I haue wepte dropes of bloude, to see the retourne newly and vylely to the worlde. My amitie and the credite of the senate, the bloude of thy predecessours, the auctoritie of thy person, and the honour of the countrey ought to refrayne thy couetonsenesse. Oh frende, thy white heares sheweth honour and wysedome, the which should exercise and be occupied in noble dedes. Regard, It auaileth more to folow reason by the waies of theim that be good, than the commune opinion, which is the large way of theim that be yll. For though the one be strayte for the feete, it reiseth no duste for to blinde the eies as the other dooeth, to light yonge persones, the whiche procure lightnes, ignorance

rance excuſeth them: but the diſordinate couetiſe of the olde perſones cauſeth theim to occupy theyr lyfe with trauaile, & to take death with great annoiſance, and in the one as well as in the other, abideth great infamy. O Cincinnate, take this counſaile of a freende: Charge not thy ſelfe with takyng of theſe vaine goodes, ſyth thou haſt ſo ſmall a morſell of thy lyfe. For ſuch as thou art, we ſe conſume, and waſt, and not ſo quicken. But ne truſt in freendes in the preſent proſperitie, for it is a prognoſticacion of an euyll fortune. And ſyth thou arte in a haſarde lyke a foole, me thynke thou oughteſt to diſcende a foote lyke a ſage perſonne. And thus euery manne wyll ſay, how Cincinnate is diſcended, and not fallen. I wyll ſay no more, but the goddis be thy ſauegarde, and defende bothe the and me, from grieſull fortune. My wyfe Fauſtine ſaluteth the, and ſhe is withdrawen from me, becauſe I wrot this letter to the, and hath conjured me to write this word to the, that is, ſhe ſaieth thou oughteſt to haue witte whan thy necke is full of heares, and I thynke thou oughteſt incontinent to take a barber,

and

and chase away the beare, that thy wife may come foorth. I would thy couetise should forsake the, and foly Faustine, and the goute me. and that sooner our soules may depart from our flesh, than gyle should remain in our hertes. Marc of mount Celio writeth this with his hande.

¶ A letter sent fro Marke the Emperour to Catulus Cenforius, that was sorowsfull for the death of his sonne Verissimus. The eight letter.

Marc censore new and young, salute and reuerence to the Catulus Cenforious olde and auncient. I haue written two letters to the, and thou hast made answere to none of them. If it be because thou couldest not, I holde my peace: If it be because thou woldest not, than I complaine me: If it be for forgetfulnesse, than I accuse thee: If it be because thou sittest litteli by me, thã I doe appeale the: If thou hast dreamed, that thou hast written: I say, beleue not in dreames: And if thou write not, it should bayle to glorifie me as a

 friende,

freend, yet thou mightest take it, write in aduertising and repreuyng as the father to the sonne, young vertuous persons are bound to honour auncient wise men, and no lesse old wise men ought to endoctrine the young people, and veray young as I am. A iust thyng it is, that the newe forces of youth supply and serue them that are worne by age. For their long experience mocketh our tender age, and naturall ignorance. Youth is yll applied, whan it surmounteth the force of the bodie, and faileth the vertues of the sowle: and age is honoured, wherin the force dieth outwarde, wherby vertues quickneth the more inward. We may see the tree, whan the fruit is gathered, the leaues fall, and whan flowres drie, than more grene and perfect are the rootes. I meane that whan the first season of youth is passed, whiche is the sommer tyme, than commeth age called winter, and putrifieth the fruite of the fleshe, and the leaues of fauour fall, and the flowers of delite are withered, and the vines of hope dryed outwarde, than it is right, that much better are the rootes of good woorkes within the good. They that be olde and

auncient

ancient, ought to praise their good wor-
kes, rather than their white heares. For
honor ought to be geuē for the good life,
and not for the white head. Glorious is
that common wealth, and fortunate is
that prince, that is lord of yong menne
to trauaile, and auncient personnes to
counsell. As to regard the susteinyng of
the naturalitee of the lyfe, in likewise
ought to be considered the policie of go-
uernaunce, the whiche is, that all the
fruites come nor drie not al at ones, but
wh in one beginneth, an other faileth.
And in this maner, ye th t be auncient
teachyng vs, and wee obedient, as old
fathers and young pullettes, beeyng in
the nest of the Senate: Of some their fe-
thers fallyng, and other yong fethered:
and where as the olde fathers can not
flie, their trauailles are mainteigned
by their tender children. Freende Ca-
tulus, I purposed not to write one line
this yere, because my penne was trou-
bled with thy slouth: but the smale-
nesse of my spirite, and the great perill
of mine offices alwaies called on me to
demaund thy counsell. This priuiledge
the old wyse men holde in their houses
where thei dwel. Thei ar alwaies lords

ouer theim that be simple, and are scla-
ues to them that be wise. I thinke thou
hast forgotten me, thynkyng that sith
the death of my dere sonne Tertullimus,
the tyme hath ben, so long that I should
forgeat it. Thou hast occasion to thinke
so, for many thynges remneth in tyme,
that reason can not helpe. But in this
case I can not tell whiche is the great-
est, thy trumperie or my dolor. I swere
to the by the goddis immortall, that the
hungrie wormes in the entraries of the
vnhappie child, are not so puissaunt, as
are the cruel dolours in the heart of the
father sore wounded. And it is no com-
parison, for the sonne is deade but one
tyme, and the deaule father dieth euery
moment. What wilte thou more that
I shoulde saie? but that one ought to
haue enuie of his death, and compas-
sion of my life, because in dying, he lis
neth, and in liuyng I die. In yll for-tu-
nes in case of lyfe, and in the subtill ad-
uersities of fortune, where is hir gyles
profiteth but litte, and hir strength lesse,
I thinke the best remedie is to fele it as
a man, and dissimule it as discrete and
wise. If all thynges as thei be feite at
hert, should be shewed outwarde with
the

the tong. I think that the wyndes shold breake the heart with sighynges, and water all the earth with weepyng. O if the corporall eies sawe the hurte of the heart with a true wounde, I sweare to thee, there they shuld see more of a drop of bloudde sweatyng within, than all the wepyng that is made outwarde. There is no comparison of the great dolours of the bodie, to the least peine that the spirite feeleth. For all trauaile of the bodie, meane maie fynde some remedie, but if the heauie hert speake, it is not heard: if it weepe, it is not seene: if it complayne, it is not beleeued. What shall the poore heart doo? Abhorre the lyfe, wherewith it dyeth: and desire death, wherwith it liueth. The high vertues among noble vertuous people, consisteth not alonely to suffer the passions of the bodie, but also to dissimule them of the soule. There be suche that alter the humours, and shewe it not outward: They dryng a feuer without alstering of the poulce: They alter the stomache: They make vs to kneele to the erth, to suffer the water vp to the mouth and to take death without leauyng of the life: and finally they length our life,

to thentent that we shuld haue the more trauaile, and benieth vs our sepulture, to thentent that we should not rest. But considerynge, if I be troubled with tribulacions, as well am I let with consolacions. For euer. I haue ether desire of the one, or wearinesse of the other. I take this remedy to dissimule with the tong, and to weepe with the eies, and to feele it with my heart. I passe my life, as he that hopeth to lese all that he hath, and neuer to recouer that is lost. I sate this, though ye see me not nowe make funerall weppynges and wailynges, as I did at the death of my sonne. yet thinke not but it dooeth brenne my heart, so that with the inwarde great heate is consumed the humiditee of the eies outward, for it brenneth all my spirites inwarde. Thou maiest know what an honourable father suffreth to lese a good child: In all thynges the goddis be liberall, except in geuyng vs vertuous children. Where there is abundaunce of great estates, there is greatest scarsitee of good inheritours. It is a great hurt to heare, and greatter to see, howe these fathers climbe to haue richesse, and to see their children discende to haue vicisulenesse:

To

To see the fathers honor their children, and the children to infame their fathers: ye and the fathers to geue rest to the children, and the children to geue trouble to they: olde fathers: yea and somtime the fathers die for sorow that their children die so soone, and we see their children wepe, because their fathers die so late. What should I say more, but that the honour and richesse that the fathers haue procured with great thought, the children lose with litell care. I am certayne of one thyng, that the fathers may gather richesse with strengthe and craft, to susteine their children, but the goddis wil not haue durable, that that is begonne with euill intencion, as is founded to the preiudice of other, and is possessed with an euill heyre. And though the heauy destinies of the father permit, that the richesse be left to their children, to serue theim in all their vices for their pastime, at laste according to their merites the goddis wyll that the heyre and heritage should perishe. Marke what I say, I had two sonnes, Comode, and the prince Verissimus, the yonger is dead, that was greatest in vertue. Alway I imagined, that while the

good

good liued. I should be poore and now that the yll remayneth. I thinke to be riche. I shall shewe the why, the goddis are so pitifull, that to a poore father they neuer geue yll child: and to a riche father they neuer geue a good childe. And as in all prosperitie alway there falleth some sinister fortune, either sone or late, so therwith fortune doeth arme and apparell vs, wherein she seeth we shall fall to our greatest hurt And therfore the goddis permitte, that the couetous fathers, in gatheryng with great trauaile, should die with that hurte, to leaue their richesse to their vicious childreu yll ymploied. I wepe as muche for my childe that the goddis haue left me, as for him that they haue taken from me. For the small estimacion of him that liueth, maketh immortall memory of him that is dead. The yll reste and conuersacion of theym that liue, cause vs to sigh for the compaignie of theim that be dead. The yll is alwaie desired for his ylnesse to be dead, and the good alwaie meriteth to haue his death bewailed. I say my freende Catulus, I thought to haue lost my witte. whan I saw my sonne Verissime die: but I toke

com-

comforte againe: for either he of me, or I of hym must see the ende, Considering that the goddis dyd but lende hym to me, and gaue him not, and how they be inheritors, and I to haue the vse of the fruite. For all thyng is measured by the iuste wyll of the goddis, and not by our inordinate willes and appetites. I thinke whan they toke away from me my chylde, I restored him to another, and not that they haue taken mine. But sith it is the wyll of the goddis to geue rest to the good childe, and hurte the father, because he is vil, I yelde thankes to theim: for the season that they haue suffred me to enioy his life: And for the patience that I haue taken for his death I desire theym to mytigate therewith the chastiement of theyr vice. And I desire, sith they haue taken away the life from this childe, to cause good customes to be in the prince my sonne other sonne. I know what heuinesse thou hast take in Rome for my sorow. I pray the goddis to sende the ioye of thy children, and that I may reward the with some ioye, for that thou hast wept for my peyne. My wyfe Faustine saluteth the, and thou wouldest

haue

haue compaſſion to ſee hir. For ſhe weepeth with hir eies, and ſighteth with hyr hert, & with hir handes hurteth hir ſelfe, and curſeth with hir tong. She eateth nothyng on the day, nor ſleepeth in the night. She loueth darkenes, and abhorreth light, and therof I haue no meruaile: for it is reaſon, that for that was nouriſhed in hir entrayles, ſhe ſhould feele ſorow in the ſame. And the loue of the mother is ſo ſtronge, though hir child be dead, and laied in ſepulture, yet alwaies ſhe hath him quicke in hir hert. It is a generall rule, that the perſone, that is intierly beloued, cauſeth euer great griefe at the death, And as for me, I paſſe the lyfe right ſorowfully, though I ſhew a ioyfull face, yet I want mirthe at my hert. And among wiſe men beyng ſorowfull, and ſhewyng they: faces merry, is none other thyng but burieng the quicke, hauyng no ſepulture. And I ſweare by the goddes immortall, I feele muche more than I haue ſaied. And diuers tymes me thynke I ſhould fall downe, becauſe I dare not wepe with mine eies, yet I feele it inwardely. I would faine cõmon with the in diuers thinges.

Come

Come I praie the to Briette to the entent that we maie speake togyther. And sith it hath pleased the goddis to take my childe fro me, that I loued so well, I woulde counsell, with the, that arte my louynge freende. But fewe daies passed, there came hyther an ambassadour fro the Rodes, to whom I gaue the moste parte of my horses: and fro the forthest part of Spaine, there were brought me. viii. of whiche I sende the iiii. I wolde they were suche as might please the. The goddis be thy safegard, and sende me and my wyfe some ioye. Marcus Aurelius right sorowful hath writen this with his owne hande.

A letter sent by Marc the emperour, to Maecurino beyng at Manny, nowe called Benauente.

The ii letter.

My specialli freende and auncient compaignion, a messaunger of thine, and a lackey of myne, went out togethee at Capue, the one bare my desyre and affection to thee, and the other brought a letter to me. And if thou looke well, thou maiest

see

se my hert, as full of thoughtes, as I se thy letter of complaintes. Thou doest sende to comfort me in my feuer tertiane, I thanke the greatly therof, and it is come in a good season. For the goyng of the feuer out of my poulse, and the ioy of thy letter to my spirite, is all one. And surely if this case be left in my hand, and that my feuer retourne not, than thy consolacion shall serue. Lo beholde the misery of man, that presumeth to take awaie realmes from other, and yet can not take the feuer out of my bones. Thou knowest well, that we loue together, and of a longe season thyne amitie hath trusted in me. My trouth byndeth me, that thyne yles shulde be myne, and my goodes thyne. And there is true loue, where bee two bodies separate, and but one herte together. And there is but a bytter loue, where the hertes bee as ferre asonder, as the straungenes of their persones. Take hede I praie the, that our loue be not inuenimed with vnkyndnes, nor oure remembraunce empoysoned with small thoughtes, and I beyng an other than thou art here, and thou beyng an other than I am there, in maner that

mine

mine absence with thy presence, and my presence with thy absence, maie speake togith r. Thy messager hath shewed me the losse of thy goods, and by thy letter I know the anguish of thy persone. And it hath been shewed me, that thou hast had a shippe perished, and that thy factours, ye the wise men, to saue their persons, did throw thy marchandise in to the sea. Me thynke, thy shyp hath eased the of thy charge. But I thynke as it seemeth by the, they threw not so many fardels into the sea, as thoughtes into thy hert. And according as thou were before, I shoulde be more bounde to serche for thy leade and tyn, than for thy hert. Thy lead is sonken to the bottom, but thy counsell is spredde a brode ouer all the worlde. If thou shouldest now die, and thy body be opened, of trouth, I thynk, that thy hert shoulde be rather founde drowned with thy leade, than a lyue with thy bodye. O Mercurius, at this houre thou feiest no maladie of any fauer tercian, as I doe, for the hert of thy bodie, and the dolour of thy spirite, causeth the to haue a quartaine. And this euyll is not in the bodie, but in the shippe, not on the earth, but in the

sea, not with phisicions, but philosophers. I counsaile the to seke helth: For there thy lyfe is drowned, where thy leade is sonken. Be not angry, for though thou hastnot thy leade with the, thy leade hath the with it. Sometymes auarice seketh out the auaricious, and sometyme the auaricious seke auarice. It is shewed me, thou art sory, because thy damage can haue no remedy: and doest thou not know, that where no remedy is, thou oughtest to take pacience? O Mercurius, now thou knowest, that whan thou dydest aduenture thy goodes to the suspecious roches, and thy desyres to the deepe waues of the sea, and thy coaragious auarice to the importunate wyndes, and thy leade to strange waters, and as ioyous and desyrous as thy factours went forth in trust of wynnyng, as muche now thou art sure of the losse: and thus is thy desire drowned, & thy hope scaped. Doest thou not remembre, that Socrates cast ryng into the sea, not leade, but golde, not a litrell, but a great deale, not goodes of other mens, but of his owne, not by fortune, but by his wysedom, saied, I wyll drowne these gilefull richesses,

to

to the entent that they shall not drowne me? But I thynke, if a man should se the doe so, he should here the say: O my swete richesses, I had rather drown my selfe, than other should drowne you? This auncient wise man durst not trust in golde, and thou wylt trust on leade: cast lottes among your goddis, he of Athenes, and thou of Rome, which of you hath most fayled, or els is most assured? he that cast his golde from the erth, into the sea, or els thou that woldest bryng thy lead out of the sea vppon the erth? I know, that the auncient Romains wyll say, it is he, and the present couetous folke wyll say, it is thy selfe. And I thynke in this thou art disprayssed in the praise therof, and the disprassed is alowed of all men. Thy messager tolde me, that thou were right sory and heauy, and criest out in the night, callyng on the goddis, and wakest thy neyghbours, complainyng on fortue. I am sore displeased for thy heauinesse, bycause sorow is next freende to thy solytyrinesse, and ennemy to company, and heyre of desperacion. I am sory for thy criynges in the night, for it induceth foly. For the night couerynge all

the worlde with darkenesse, thou alone wilt discouer thy dart with teares.
I am not pleased, that thou complainest vpon the goddis, because they haue taken some thyng fro the: because thou that were aloste, they haue brought lower. for I am not pleased, that thou awakest thy neighbours to thy riches, that caused theym to enuy the: thy pacience should moue them to compassion. Nor I am not content, that thou shouldest so complayne on fortune: for the thyng so well knowen of many, should not be infamed by one alone. O Mettius remember, that with theim, with whom truce is taken, thou wilt entre againe into the fielde of defiance. We vnbend, and thou wilt spende thy speares. Thou neuer camest into the field, and yet thou wouldest enioy the tryumph. All be stopped, and thou woldest passe surely. Thou yeldest thy self to fortune, and doest thou not know, how she beateth downe the high walles, and defendeth the old rotten houses, and peopleth where there lacketh people, and vnpeopleth where as people be: Of enemies she maketh friendes, and of frendes enemies, and disposeth the vanquis-

shers

shers, and crowneth theim that be o-
uercome. Of traytours she maketh true
men, and true men she maketh suspect
persons. And finally, Fortune is suche
a maistresse, that she ruleth realmes, a-
uercommeth armies, beateth downe
kynges, exalteth tyrauntes, to the dead
she geueth lyfe, and to some renoume,
and to some shame. Why stickest thou
to hir? dooest thou not remember the
woorde, that the kyng of the Lacedemo-
niens had at his gate, saiyng: This
house is at the puttyng down offortune.
In good sooth these were high woordes,
and of great vnderstandyng, he knewe
Fortune muche better than thou, sith
he reckeneth his house at Fortunes di-
sposicion, and not for inheritance. And
if he had lost any thyng, as thou hast
doen, he thought, that she restored it to
other as theirs, and had not taken his.
Reason holdeth confidēce, to argue thy
treason, by that she disposeth thee fro
thy height to be an heriter: for he that
liueth, heriteth death, and not death
the life, for all dieth, and it heriteth all
in their life. Wilte thou take venge-
aunce, of that hath geuen the so muche
peine. Therfore take this counsell: be

freend to fortunes enemy, the which is the graue: Quit them that be born, and not quit them that die in her Empyre. O how many great lordes haue been the thoughtes of thy heart, so as many wormes shalbe in thine entrailes: what greater victory may be, than she that ouercommeth all liuers, shalbe vanquished of the aloncly by death. I say one thyng to the, that all oncly he that is closed in his graue, is assured of all thynges of this life. Thy messager shewed me, that this sommer thou wouldest come to Rome, and nowe that it is winter, thou wilt saile into Alexandrie. O my freend Marcurio, when thy lyfe drawcth to an ende, thou beginnest to be auaricious. Thou shalt finde two cities in this worlde, in two extremities, Rome the head of vice, and Alexandrie the ende of all vertues. I say of thy marchaundise, in Rome thou doest charge thy body with vices, and in Alexandrie thy heart with thoughtes. I sweare by the oth of a iust man that thou shalt haue more desire of that thou leauest, than contentacion of that thou trauest away. Thou remembrest not, how it is winter, and thou must passe the sea,

and

and but if the pilotes lie to me, the calme seson most sure, is the vigile of the more vnfortune. Thou wilt saie, thy shyppes be voide, and therfore thei shal go more surely. I beleue thei shall go more charged with auarice, than thei shall come with silke. O what a good change shall it bee, if the auarice of Italie might be changed for silke of Alexandry. I know surely their silke wil lade a ship, and our auarice will lade a hole fleete. Great is that couetise, whiche the shame of the world doth not represse, nor the feare of death stoppe, nor reason appoinct. I say it, because that he, which in suche a time offereth hym selfe to perill, either couetise surmounteth him, or els vnderstanding faileth him. And because I can finde none other excuse sufficient to excuse me to the, but that thou art as mutche knowen by the sea, as vnknowen to the goddes, that is, the vnstable waues know the wicked heart and vnfaithfull, and the hard rockes vntruly me: and one winde knoweth an other winde. I praie the shew me, what thou wilt go seeche? Wilt thou go into the gulfe of Aryppo, for to seeke thy leade? Than take hede, and thinke, how the fishe hath eaten thy

harde leade, and lette them not eate thy soft flesche. Thou wilt peraduenture goe seke thy goodes with perill of thy life, and to leaue renoume at thy death. Knowest thou not, that suche renoume, is a salue for a reume, a baume for a swownyng, lyght to a blinde persone, a nyghtingale to the deafe? I will discouer the embushement, or thou fall therein. Thou seekest thought for thy selfe, enuie for thy neyghbours, spurres for thyne ennemies, wakyng for theues, perill for thy body, damnation for thy renoume, the endyng of thy lyfe, fyght for thy frendes, processe for thy children, and cursyng for thine heires. And bycause the leuer hasteth towarde me, I leaue my penne to write any more. Thy wyfe Faustine saluteth the, and is sore displeased for thy losse. I sende the a prouision, to the entent that a shyp maie bee gyuen the, bycause thou shouldest not lose thy witte. If thou be in Alexandrye, returne not by Rhodes, least the Pyrates take the. The goddis bee thy safegarde, and sende me and other good lyfe, and good name with straungers.

A letter

¶ A letter sent by Marke themperour to Antigonus, comfortyng him in a sorowfull case. The x letter.

MArc Pretor Romaine, Edile, Censorine, compaignion of thempire, to the Antigonus banished, sendeth gretyng to thy part, and good hope of the Senate. To me beyng in Campain, thy heuie case was shewed, and at this houre in the temple of Iupiter was thy pitiefull letter deliuered to me. I feele as muche as thou felest, and am hurt with as many woundes. As thou art separate fro thy neighbours, so in likewyse I am banished from my wittes: and I weepe at this houre for thee, as thou in my trauails hast wept for me: and now I feele for the, as thou hast felt for me. For to frendes afflicted with sorow, we ought to geue remedie to their persons, and consolacion and compassion to their heartes. I sweare to the by the lawe of good men, in this case I haue not been vncourteise of auncient tyme, nor cruell at this tyme, to feele it. As I redde the lynes of thy letter, I coulde not holde

my handes from shakyng, nor my heart from sighyng, nor mine eyen from weepyng, to see the small thyng that thou sendest to demaund, and muche more for lacke of power to send to thee. The greatest infortune of all infortunes is, whan a man may doe litteli, and would doe muche. And the greatest fortune of all fortunes is, whan a manne may do muche, and will doe but litteli. In this I wyll see, if thou hast forgotten our amitee, and aduenturest at one tyme, that I haue trusted in the diuers times. Thou knowest well, that in the young daies of my youth, all thynges wer discharged fro my hert, and charged them to thine vnderstandyng. Than it is a iust thyng, that thy trauailes should be discharged from thy will, and charged vpon my hert. And in this maner, thou and other, shall see and heare, that my handes shalbe as redy to remedy the, as my teares of weepyng are for thy dammage. Now come to the rest of euill fortune. Thou geuest me knowlage, that the goddis haue taken a doughter fro thee: And the monstruouse earthquake hath throwen downe thy house, and the Senate hath geuen a sentence against the, wher-

whereby thy goodes are lost, and thy person banished. The goddis be to me as propice and meeke, as they haue ben cruell to the. I am sore abashed of that my spirite hath conceiued in this, as of the losse, that thou and thy wyfe haue felt: yet am I not abashed of the monster that feareth the people, nor of the trembliyng, that hath shaken downe thy bowses, nor of the fyre that hath brent thy goodes, nor of the goddis that haue permitted suche thynges to fall: But I am abashed, that there is so muche malice in the, and in thy neyghbours: For the whiche iustly ye doue deserue to haue so horrible and cruell chastisements. Beleue me in one thyng Antigonus and doubte it not, if menne liued lyke men, and chaunged not the rule of conditours, the goddis would than be alwaies as goddis, not to cause vs to be borne of our mothers, to geue vs so cruell chastisementes by the hand of monstruous beastes. Certaynly it is iuste and most iust, that brute beastes be chastised by other brute beastes, and the monsterous, by other monsterous beastes, and such as offend with great faultes, to be punished with great

great peines. I say to the one thynge, the which semeth a new thyng to the, and that is this, the euell personnes offende more by infamy, than the goddis geue theim peine for it, rather than for the offence that is committed against theim. As the Goddis naturally be pitifull, and alway haue the name therof, so we are alwaies euill, and our euilnesse and shamefull woorkes deserue to haue sore chastisement. The symple folkes call the goddis cruell in that they see theyr chastisement openly, and for they se not our secrete vilenesse. Than the gods haue reason to complaine because we with our sinnes offende theym, and they by our cruelnesse are infamed. An inestable rule it is, that the pitifull goddis doe not punisshe extremely with extreme chastisementes, sith that first the vicious men do extremely with extreme vices. The time that Camillus was banished Capue, and that the Frenchmen possessed Rome, Lucius Clarus Consull was sent by the Senate to the oracle of Apollo, to demand counsell, what the Romaine people should doe to be deliuered out of their great peryll. And there this consule was .xl. dates with-

in the temple on his knees before Apollo, offeryng right strange sacrifices, and sheede many teares with weppyng, and yet he could haue none answere: and so with no small inconueniences he returned to Rome. Than the holy senate sent out of euery temple two priestes. and whan they were prostrate on the erth, Apollo saied: As one begynnyng is correspondent to an other beginnyng. and one place to an nother, Meruayle thou not, though by the reason of an extreme demaunde, I shewed my selfe extreme to answere. Ye Romaines, sith ye sayle men, ye come to seke to the goddis. For the occasion wherof, we wyll giue you no good counsell whan ye haue nede, nor permitte that men should fauour you, whan ye go to seke for them. Regard my treubes. not for the sacrifices that ye haue offered to me, but for the amitie, that I haue had with your fathers in time paste. I wyll discouer to you a secrete, the whiche is, that ye shall say to the Romaines fro me seuen thynges. The fyrste is, let neuer man leaue the goddis for an nother man, for feare that the goddis departe fro the miserable manne in his most greatest

neces-

neceſſitie. The .ii. is, that more auayleth to holde the part of one of the goddis immortall, that is in heauen, than with all the mortall men in the worlde. The thirde is, that men ſhould beware to annoy the goddis: for the yre of the goddis doth more domage than the iniquitie of all men. The .iiii. is, the goddis neuer forget a man at any time, but yf the goddis be forgotten by menne a thouſand tymes. The .v. is, that the goddis do ſuffre, that one ſhalbe perſecuted by an other that is yll, or they haue firſt perſecuted one that is good. And therfore ye are ſtriken with the feares of the Frenchemen: becauſe ye haue perſecuted and baniſhed Camillus your naturall neighbour. The .vi. is, if the men wyll haue the goddis fauourable in the tyme of warre, they muſt ſerue them firſt in tyme of peace. The .vii. is, that the pitifull goddis ſendeth not to any realme ſome extreme chaſtiſement, but if it be for ſome extreme offences committed in the ſame realme. And ſhew to the Senate, that yf I would make none aunſwere to Lucius Clarus, by cauſe they ſent ſo yll a man to their god Apollo, as ambaſſadour, the whiche

they

thef ought not to haue dooen. Ye Romaines take this counsail of me, and if ye fynd it yll take no more of me. In a strange message sende alwaies the most eloquent men, and in your senate set the wyiest men. And committe your hostes to valiant capitaines: and to your goddis sende alwaie the most innocent men. The iuste goddis neuer appease their yres agaynst vniuste men: but yf the requirers be very innocēt and meke. For a foule vessell is not made cleane but with faire water. For with foule handes it is harde to make the vessell cleane. The goddis be so iust, that they wyll not geue iust thynges but by ẏ hādes of iuste men. Finally I saie, if ye will driue the Frenchemen your enmies out of your landeā, first cast out the passions fro your hertes. Thynke for trouthe, that the goddis will neuer dryue your ennemies out of Italie, till Camillus and all the gyltlesse that bee banysshed, be returned agayn to Rome. Certenly the cruell warres that the goddis permit at this time present, is but a warnyng of the chastisementes for offences passed. For that the yll men haue doone to the innocentes in diuers daies, after

by

by the handes of other that be yll, the
paiement is made: in one daie. This an-
swere Apollo made to the priestes Fla-
mines, that were sente to hym out of
Rome, whiche thyng made the senate
sore abaished. I remembre, that in the
boke of the aunswere of the goddis, in
the annales of the capitoll, there I fond
it: the whiche boke the fyrst daie of e-
uery moneth was redde by a senatour,
before all the other senatours of the se-
nate. Therfore frende Antigonus, as
the god Apollo saied, yf thou wilt not
beleue me, that am thy frende, beleue
the god Apollo. O Antigonus, beholde
how the vnderstandyng of vayne men
ar but beastly to the spirites of the god-
dis, whiche are secrete and hydde: and
where as they speake, all other ought
to be stylle. For one counsaill of the
goddis is more worth in mocherie, than
all the counselles of men, though thei
be neuer so ernest. Of whense thynkest
thou that this commeth? I shall shewe
the: The goddis are so perfite in all
bountie, and so wyse in all wysedome,
and we are so yll in all malice, and so
simple in all simplenesse, that though
thei wouldde erre, thei can not, because
thei

they be goddis: and we that wouldbe allured, erre, because we bee men. And herein I see what a brute beast man is: for all these mortall men ar so entier in their owne wylles, that they will lose more in folowyng their owne opinion, than wynne by the counsell of an other man: and that worst of all is, thei take so the bitte in the teeth in doyng ylle, that there is no bridle that can refrayn theim. And thei are so slow to doe well, that there is no priche nor spourre that can bring theim forwarde. Thou doest complaine of the pitiefull goddis, and of the sacrate senate. Also thou complaynest of ioyfull fortune. Three thynges there be, th t one of them is inough with one stroke of a stone, to take away thy lyfe, and bury thy renoume. And whan eche of theim hath drawen the apart, than all togither will strike on the with stones. Thou hast taken greatte cõpetitours, and yet I know not what thy worthynesse is. I shall shew the som strengthes and valiantnes that the auncient barons had, and therby thou shalt se, what thei of this worlde doth hold. ¶ The felow of Scipio Africa, toke a serpent in the mountaines of Egypt,

whiche after it was slayne, flaied, and the skyn measured in the field of Mars, it was sixe score foote of length. Hercules of Thebes proued his force with the serpent Hydra, And in strikyng of one of his heades, there sprange out seuen other heades.

¶ Mylon the gyaunte, to exercise his strength was accustomed euery daie to ouertake a bul with rennyng a fote, and caste hym downe, and he made many courses with the bull, as it were an other naked younge man: and yet, that was more meruayle, he with one stroke of his fist, slew the bull, and the same day wold eate hym all together.

¶ On mount Olympe Cerasius the gyaunt of the nacion of Greece, wrasteled with mo than fifty. Xi. men, and none coulde styre nor shake hym. And if Homere begyleth vs not in this giaunt, he was of suche fame and dedes, that euery foure yeres, there was a custome, that all naciōs of the worlde went to wrastle at mount Olympe. And therof came the reckenyng of the Olympiades.

¶ In the seconde warre punike among the captiues of sorowfull Carthage, Scipion brought a man, a lord of Mauritayn

estayn, right stronge and fierse to beholde: and in celebratyng a spectakle in the palays of Rome, which was than of greatte renoume, there were innumerable beastes runne at. This captiue prisoner lept into the parke, and killed two beares, and wrasteled with a lyon a great while: fynally beyng sore hurte with the lyons pawes, he strangled the lyon with his handes. This was a monstruous thyng to se, and now it semeth incredible to be beleued.

¶ In the yere. CCCC. xx. of the foundacion of Rome, Lucio Leden, a renoumed capitaine comyng from Tarent agaynst Gyrro kyng of the Epirotes: he was the first that brought. iiii. Olyphantes to Rome the daie of his triumph. Stages and places were made for. xxx. M. men to see the rennyng of these Oliphantes, and in the middes of the pastime, the plankes brake and slew mo than. v. M. persones. And among them there was Numatian the whiche bare vpon his shoulders a planke with mo than three hundred men, tyll that he and they were succoured.

¶ Gaius Cesar beyng yong, fleyng the company of Sylla, bicause he was

perteignyng to Marius, he being among the Rhodiens, wan his meate with courſyng and runnyng of horſes, with his handes bound behynd hym. It was a monſtruous thyng to ſe, as the annales witneſſe, how he would guide the horſes with his knees ſo faſt, as though he had drawen theim with the reines of their bridels.

¶ In the .xv. yere that the capitaine of Carthaginenſe entred into Italy, our auncient fathers ſent to the realme of Frigie for the goddis Berecinthia, mother of the goddis, and whan ſhe arriued at the porte Hoſtie, the ſhippe that ſhe came in, ranne vpon the ſande, and by the ſpace of .iiii. daies .xx. M. men, that came in the army, could not remoue it: by chaunce came thither one of the virgines Veſtales named Rea, whiche with hir gyrdell tyed to the ſhyppe, drew it to the lande as eaſyly as ſhe wold haue drawen a thredde from the diſtaffe. And to the intent that we ſhould beleue ſuche thynges, as we here wer doen in tymes paſt, we may know it by dedes done preſently in our daies. Ye remembre whan my lorde Adrian came fro Dacie, he did celebrate

a ſpec-

a spectacle in Rome, wherin there was mo than two thousande wilde beastes, and the thyng most notable that we haue sene, there was a knight borne by the riuer Danubio, who toke a horse, and ranne into the parke, and slewe so many wyld beastes, that there fled fro him Lyons, Leopardes, Beares, Olyphantes, and we did flee fro them: and he slew mo of them then they did of men. These straunge thynges I haue recited to thee, that of all these I am not so abashed, as I am of the, to se the redie to doe armes against the goddis, and against the Senate, and against Fortune. These thre are gyantes in vertuous valiauntise, and happie at all times: and they be such as commaund theim that commaund other. The goddis by their naturalitie and power, close vp the furies, and gouerne the sterres. And the senate with their iustice ouercõmeth realmes, and subdueth tyrantes: and Fortune with hir tyranny taketh them that they leaue, and leaueth them that they take: and honoreth theim that they dishonour, and chastiseth them that serue hir: she begyleth euery person, and no persõ beguileth hir: she promiseth much,

and fulfilleth nothyng: hir song is wee-
pyng and hir weepyng is song. to them
that be dead among wormes. and to
them that lyue in fortune: at them that
be present. she spourneth with hir fete,
and threatneth them that be absent. All
wise men shrinke from hir, but thou like
a fole shewest hir thy face. Of one thing
I am ashamed of the, to complaine of
the senate, and yet I meruaile not: for
in conclusion they be but menne: yet of
trouth in thynges of iustice they ought
to be more than men. And to complaine
on Fortune, I meruaile not a litteli: for
in thend fortune is fortune among mor-
tall men. And all the heauene is of an
auncient quarell, and whan we are be-
set with most greatest quarelles, than
she striketh vs with most grieuous hur-
tes. I haue great wonder, that thou be-
yng a Romain complainest on the gods:
dis, as if thou were one of the Barba-
riens. We Romaines are not so muche
renowmed among all nations for the
multitude of realmes, that we haue
ouercome, as we are for the great chur-
ches and seruices that we haue made.
Thou complainest how the gods haue
broken thy houses with an earthquake,

and

and haue slaine thy doughter, felow in thy banishement, and all in one daie: But thou dooest not remember the offences that thou hast committed in diuers cases. O my freende Antigonus, thou knowest not, that out of our yll processes commeth foorth good sentences, and thou knowest not, that our wicked woorkes are but awakyng of true iustice. Knowest thou not that the fierce chastismētes, is but a presse that hasteth the great commynges of our young desires? and knowest thou not, that it is nothyng that the goddis dooe chastise openlie, to that thei doe dissimule in secrete? Dooest thou not knowe, that in conclusion the goddis be goddis, and the mortals are mortals, and thei maie dooe vs more good in one daie, than we can w seruice in a. C. M. yere. Doest thou not know, that the least yll doen by the handes of the pitifull goddis, is more goodnesse than all the welth that maie come by the handes of the cruell men? Than wherof doest thou complaine? I praie the be still. And sith thou art amōg straungers suffer. And thou wilte haue honour, dishonour not the goddis of the Romains. For the vniust men doe great

iniustice to spehe yll of them that be iust, and specialli of the goddis, for thei are most iust. Certainly as Cicero saieth, the greatest faute in a man that is good is to approue the yll rather than the good, and the most greatest euill in an yl man, is to condemne the good for the yll. Thou knowst not how iust the goddis be. Of trouth they chaunge not for any praier, nor leaue not for any threatnynges, nor mocke not by woordes, nor be not corrupt with giftes. Great ought thine offence to be, sith the earth hath taken vengeance for the goddis: and thy innocent doughter hath paied the faut, for the offence of hir father. O Antigonus, doest thou not knowe, that in all thynges the goddis maie woorke after their owne opinion and will, except in iustice: for in that thei be goddis of all, thei ought to be egal to all. And if their bountie doeth bynde them to rewarde vs for goodnes, no lesse their iustice constreineth thē to chastise vs for our yllcs. It is a great custome, and a righteouse iustice: He that willyngly drawerth to sinne, against his will is drawē to pein. I saie it because thy doughter hath left to doe some good openlie, or els she hath

doen

doen some secrete yll, sith in hir youth, hir life is beseued from hir father for ensample of chastisement in other. And in the end of thy letter thou complainest that the peyne that men doe to thee, is more greater than thoffences that thou hast dooen to the goddis. And if it bee thus seeend Antigone, thou oughtest to haue no displeasure, but pleasure, no besinesse but ioye. And I sweare to the by the immortall goddis, I would gladly chaunge my libertee for the captiuitee, and the state of Rome for the banishement of Sicile. And I shal tel the why: He is honored among theim that be honoured, that Fortune abateth without faute: and he is shamed among theim that be shamed, that Fortune enhaunseeth without merite. For the shame is not in the inconueniences that are doen to vs by men, but it is of the offence that we commit against the goddis. And in lyke case, the honorable honour resteth not in the dignitees that we haue, but in the good workes, whereby we merite. And thereby the wordes seme true, that the. xi. Emperour of Rome bare writsten in a ryng on his fynger, whiche said thus: Moze is he to be honoured, that

deserueth honour, than he that hath it, and deserueth it not. These wordes are greatly to bee noted, and spoken by a great lorde. Than returne to the purpose. Thou complainest of the wronges and griefes that men doe to menne, and leaue the goddis. I haue no meruaile, for as the goddis doe neuer vniust thinges, so the men neuer lightly doee any thyng iuste. Note this that I saie, and forget it not. The Senate geueth an open pein, and publisheth the secrete faut in suche maner, that with the pein they hurte vs, and with the faut thei shame vs. The Goddis are more pitifull: for though thei geue vs peine, yet thei kepe the faute close. O my freende Antigone, though the goddis gather together the slouth and wickednes, that we commit secretlie. Beleue me, and doubt not, the goddis geue life to many, the whiche men deserueth. Therfore I thinke, that thou shuldest thinke and wishe, that sith the goddis haue suffered the yiles that thou hast doen secretely, that thou must suffer open chastisement, that men haue geuen to thee. For otherwise thinkyng to put awaie the peine, thou shalt abide charged with infamie. I haue written

to

to the this long epistle, to the entent that thou shouldest haue some thyng to passe the time with. Certainly the greatest easement to ease him that is in trauaill, is to exercise the wauerynge heart with some good occupacions. I will write no more to thee at this tyme, but as touchyng thy banishement, trust me I shall bryng thee at one with the Senate. I sende Manutius my secretary to thee, geue as muche credence to his woordes as to my letter, and he bringeth a goun to thee. And therwith my herte and will for to comforte thee. Salutacion peace and good age be with thee, and the yre of the goddis and yl fortune be separate fro me. Marc my howshold, wyfe and children salute thee as thyne owne. And we salute all thy family as our owne. Though the halfe of my letter be not of my hand, comfort thee, for my heart is entierly thyne. Thou knowest howe I was greuously hurte in the warres of Dacie in my hand, and in moist weathers one of my fingers sleepeth. Thus I make an ende as alwaies thine owne.

¶ An other letter sent by Marke the emperour to the same Antigonus against cruell Iudges.

¶ The .xi. letter.

MArke the sick man, to thee Antigonus banished, desireth salute for hym, and rest for thee. To eschewe the enuious trauayles of Rome, and to see certayn bookes of Hebrewe, that were brought to me fro Delia, I came hither to Hasnia: I made great hast in my iourneies, how be it at Salon the feuer tooke me: and the .xx. day of June I receiued thy second letter, and the same houre the feuer quartein tooke me. I thinke none of vs both had the better hand. For neither my long letter did put away thy trauaile, nor thy short letter did put away my feuer. And though as now the feelyng of thy trauayle minisheth that I had, the more kyenneth the desire to remedy thee. Therfore I wyll say some thyng to thee, but not that I fynd any consolacion that thou hast nede therof. In the lawe of Rhodes I haue found these wordes: We commaund, that none

neuer be so hardy to geue counsaile without remedy: for the wordes to hym that is in trouble geueth small consolacion, when there is no remedy. Also the hert that is in sorow, hath more rest shewyng his own greues, than hearyng the consolacion of other. Thou saiest in thy letter, that the censores are right rygorous in that realme: and therefore all that nacion hath yll wyll with the senate. I beleue well, they haue good occasion therof, for dishonoured men make the ministers of iustice to be rygorous, and namely they of that ylc.

For there is an auncient prouerbe, that saieth. Eyghtly all these yiles are yll, and these Sicilians worst of all. Now a dayes the yll are myghty in theyr synes, and the good with theyr vertues are kept so close, that yf there be not some byrdell by iustice, the yll should possesse all the worlde, and the good should fynysh shortly. But fynally to consider how vnable we be borne, and are enuyronned with so many yiles, beyng subiect to so many miseries, I meruayle not of the inhumanities that the humain people committeth: but I am ashamed of the cruell sentence that our Censo-

res

res doe, not as Romaines, but as cruell tyrantes. Of one thyng I am sore abashed and greatly it troubleth my wittes, seyng naturally and of right, the iustice of the goddis is good, and we offendyng theim, and that haue Iustice but lent to vs yet we glorify vs to be cruell: so that the goddis doe pardon iniuries doen to theim, wherby fame of mekenesse abideth to them, and we chastise the iniuries of other, wherby we wyn the fame of tyrantes. In good soth thers is no man among men, nor humain among the humaines, but he is a brute beast, and wilde among wilde beastes, that nameth him self to be of the fleshe, and hath no pitie to hurte other fleshe: Nor considereth not, that the goddis haue made him a meke beast and lowly by nature, and he becometh a fiers serpent by malice. In the xii. yere of the foundacion of Rome, Romulus the first kyng, sent a commandement into al places and realmes nigh to hym: as to the Volgues, Samites, and Russiens, to Capue, Tarentis, and Albanois: to the entent that all suche as were banisshed troubled and persecuted in theyr realmes, should come to Rome, and there they

thei should be receiued and well entreated: and except the histories lye, Rome was more inhabited in ten yeres, than Babylon or Carthage in a. C. yeres. O glorious hert of Romulus, that suche a thyng inuented, and glorious tong that such a thyng commanded: and glorious was the citee or countrey, that founded them vpon suche mercy and pitie I haue founde diuers letters of diuers realmes of the orient, sente forthe, mencionyng thus. We the kyng of Parthes in Asie, to the conscript fathers of Rome, and to the happy people of Italy, and vnto all theim of that empire, dauyng the name of Romaynes, and surname of clemency, salutacion to your persones. We sende peace and tranquillitie to you, as we demaunde the same of the goddis.

¶ Thus than regarde, what glorious title of clemency our predeceSours Romaynes had, and what exaumple of clemency thei haue left for all emperours to come. Take this for certayne, that the Censores or minysters of Justice, forgettyng the pitie of the Romaynes, shall bee reputed cruell, as Barbariens: For Rome shall not repute theim

as

as hir naturall children, but as cruell enemies, and not for augmentours of the commō welth, but infamours and robbers of clemency.

¶ Whan I was of the age of .xxxvii. yere, beeyng in the yle of Crete, nowe called Cypres, in wynter tyme, There was a mountayne called Archadio, wherupon foure pillers were sette, and a sepulchre of a kynge of worthy fame, and in his lyfe pitiefull and full of mercy: and as one shewed me, there were certayne wordes written in greeke letters rounde about the sepulchre saiyng thus: I haue taken to me alwaies this counsaile, where as I myght dooe but littell good, I neuer dydde harme, and that that I myght haue with peace, I neuer stroue for: Suche as I myght ouercome with praier, I neuer feared with thretnynges. Where as I myght remedy secretly, I dyd neuer chastise openly: theym that I myght correcte with warnynges, I neuer hurted with beatynges: Suche as I chastised openly, I fyrst aduertised secretely: and finally I neuer chastised one, but I forgaue foure. I am right sorowfull, bycause that I haue chastised: and am

glad

glad, because that I pardoned. In as muche as I was borne as a man, my flesshe is here eaten with wourmes: and because I haue lyued vertuously in my lyfe, my spirite shall now reste with the goddis.

¶ How thinkest thou my frende Antigonus, what an epitaphie was this? And howe glorious was his lyfe, sith the memory of hym vnto this date abideth so immortall? And as the goddis maie helpe me in all goodnesse, and defende me fro yll, I haue not so great delite at Pompeie with his army, nor at Caius Julius Cæsar with his Gaules of France, nor at Scipio with his Affricans, as I haue at the kynge of Cypries with his sepulchre. For that kyng hath more glory in that mountayne beyng deade, than all the other had in all their lyues, with all their triumphes, that euer they had in Rome. I saie not, but that the wyckednesse of yll people shoulde be chastised: for without comparison, he is worse that fauoureth the yll, than he that committeth the yll: for the one proceedeth of weakenesse: and the other of malice. But it seemeth to me, and to all other that be wyse, that

as the synne is naturall, and the chastisemente voluntary: so ought the rigour of iustice to be temperate, so that the ministers shoulde shew compassion rather than vengeance: wherby the trespassours shuld haue occasion to amend their synne passed, and not to reuenge the iniury present. O what places and realmes haue been loste, not for the ylnesse that the yll people hath committed, but rather by the disordinate Iustice, that the ministers of Iustice haue exercised: Thinkyng by their rigour to correct the domages passed, whereby hath rysen sclaunders and stryfe, neuer none suche harde of afore. Whan a prince sendeth any personne with the charge of iustice, he ought to saie to hym these woordes, whiche Auguste Cæsar saied to the gouernour of Affrike: I put not the confidence of myne honour into thy handes, nor committe to the my iustice, to be a distroyer of innocentes, nor an executioner of synners, but that with one hande thou shouldest helpe the good to maintein theim therin, and with the other hande to helpe to reyse them that be yl from their noughtynes. And myne entencion is to send the forth to be a preceps

ceptour of orphans, and an aduocat for widowes, a surgion for all woundes, a staffe for the blynde, a father to euery person, to speake fayre to myne enemies, and to reioice my frendes. In this maner I wold thou shuldest vse thy selfe in euery place, so that by the fame of pitifulnesse, suche as be myne shall be in rest and content to be my subiectes, and that strangers shall be desirous to come and to serue me.

¶ This instruction August Cesar gaue to a gouernour of his, bicause it was shewed hym, that he was somwhat cruell in that realme. Certaynly they were short wordes, but they be right compendious. And wold to god they were wryten in the hertes of our iudges. Thou writest, how that yle is sore troubled by reason of the censores and iudges therof It is a noyfull trauaile to receiue the auctoritie of iustice into the hand of an vniuste man: and it is a thyng not to be suffred, that one with tyranny shulde tyrannyse dyuers other: not with the life, but with the auctoritie to correct good men, therby to be called a good censore. The auctoritie of his office geuen to him by his prince ought to be his ac-

cessary, and his good lyfe for principall: in such maner, that by the rectitude of his iustice, the yll should fele the execucion therof. All that haue auctoritee shuld tempre it with wisdome and purenes of liuyng. It is a great goodnes to the common welth, and great confusion to him that is chastised with peyne, whan the miserable that is chastised, seeth nothyng in him that chastiseth, wherby he hath deserued to be chastised. And contrary, it is greatte slackenes in a prince to commaunde, and great shame to the common welthe to consent, and great inconuenience and reprofe to the iudge to execute: whan a poore wretche for a small faut is put to more peyne for the same small faute doen in one daie, than is geuen to theim that be great for many tyrannies, that they haue committed duryng their life. These be they that peruert the common welth, and sclander the world, and put them selfe out of auctoritee.

¶ In the. iii. yere that great Pompey toke Elia, the whiche is nowe Jerusalem, the same tyme beyng there Valerius Gracchus, thither came an Hebrue or a Jew, as the annales shewe, to complayne

plain to the Senate of the wronges and griefes that were doen to him in that land, and so in doyng his errand in the name of all that prouince, he saied these woordes. O fathers conscripte, O happie people. your fatall desteries permit, and our God leaueth vs with Ierusalem, ladie of all Asie, and mother to the Hebrues, to be in seruage of Rome, and to the Romaines, certaynly great was the power of Pompey, and much more the force of his army to take vs. But therfore I say, that greatter was the yre of our god, and without comparison the multitude of our sinnes, wherby we did merite to be lost. I would ye knewe one thyng. and it sore displeaseth me, that ye Romains haue not proued it by experience: That is, our god is so iust, that if among vs there had been. x. iust men. and among fiftie thousand yll, one good, he would haue pardoned all the yll: And than ye Romains should haue seen as the Egyptians did, how our god alone may be much more than all your goddis together. And certainly as long as we be sinners, so long ye shall be our lordes. And as long as the yre of the Hebrues God doeth endure, so longe

ſhall the power of the Romaines laſt. And becauſe in this caſe I folow one waie, and by your ſecte ye folow an other waie, ye can not returne to honour one god onely, nor I to honour diuers goddis. I will leaue this matter to the god, by whoſe power we haue been no=riſhed, and by whoſe bountie we be gouerned, and returne to the caſe of our ambaſſade. Ye know what peace hath been betweene Rome and Iudee, and betweene Iudee and Rome. We with you, and ye with vs. In all thynges we haue obeyed you, and ye vs. The iuſt thing we haue denaied you. And becauſe there is nothyng more deſired of the people, and leſſe put in operacion than is peace, and there is nothyng more abhorred, by the whiche abhorryng euery man liueth, than is warre: I doe warne you of this with truth, prouide therfore iuſtice, put them away that folowe your willes to doe vs yll. And leaue vs haue no ſuche malicious folke, as intice vs to rebell. The greateſt ſigne and ſtrongeſt pylle of peace is, to put away the perturbers of peace. What profite is to ſay peace peace, and in ſecret to ſay warre warre? I ſay this becauſe ye haue baniſhed

the

the eldest sonne of kyng Idumeo out of Lyon for his demerites, and ye haue sent in his steede Campanius, Marcus Ruffus, and Valerius Graccus for presidentes. Thei be foure plagues, or. iiii. pestilences, so that the least of theim were sufficient to enpoyson the hole empire of Rome, than muche sooner our miserable realme of Palestine. What thyng can be more monstrous, than that the iudges of Rome should send menne to put away yll customes fro them that be yll, and thei theim selues are the inuentoures of newe vices? What greater shame and inconuenience is in iustice, than thei that haue auctorite to chastise wanton youthe, to glorifie theim selfe to be capitaines of theim that be wylde? What greatter infamie can be in Rome than thei that ought to be vertuous and iuste, to geue exaumple to other, to be yll and vicious? Liye if thei haue not so withe and enlarged the discipline of Iustice, that thei haue taught the youth of Iudee suche vices, that haue not been heard of by our fathers, nor red in no whes, nor seen in our time. O Romans beleue me in one thing what counsailles Iudee hath taken

of Rome at this houre, let Rome take Iudee. Many realmes are gotten with mightie capitaynes, and much sheading of bloud, and ought to be obteined with a good Iudge, not in sheadyng of bloud, but in gettyng of hertes. Certenlie the Iudge that winneth moe good willes than monie, ought to be beloued, and he that seeketh for monie, and loseth the good willes, for euer ought to be abhorred as pestilence. What thinke ye is the cause nowe a daies, that your presidentes be not obeied in a iust cause? Of a trouthe it is because that first thei commaund vniust thynges. The commaundementes that be iust, maketh soft and meeke hertes, and suche as be vniuste, maketh menne cruell. We be so miserable in all misceries, that to hym that commaundeth well, we obeie yll: and the more yll thei commaunde, the more obeyed would thei be. Beleue me in one thyng, that of the great lightnesse and small sadnesse of the Iudges, is bredde litteli feare and great shame in the subiectes. We that bee Iewes thinke our selfe well aduertised by the mouth of our God, that saied: Euerie Prince committyng charge of Iustice

to

to hym that he seeth vnable to execute the same, or doeth not principallie for Iustice sake accomplishe Iustice, but doeth it for his owne profite, or els to please the partie, thinche surely, whan the Prince dooeth not regarde this, by some waie that he thincheth least of, he shall see his honour infamed, his credence lost, his good minished, and some great chastisemente come to his house. And because I haue other thynges to saie in secrete, I will conclude as nowe openlie. Finallie I saie, if ye will conserue your realme long tyme, for the whiche ye haue put your selfe in great perilles, keepe and mainteigne Iustice, and we shall beare you reuerence: Commaunde as Romaines, and we shall obeie as Hebrues: Geue vs a president, that is mercifull, and all our realme shalbe obedient: Be not to cruell to chastise our mescheneste, and we shall be the more obedient to your preeminence: I require you, desire vs er ye commaunde. For in desiryng, and not commandyng, ye shall find loue as fathers to the children. And no treason as of Lordes to seruauntes. All these thynges saied the Iewe, wherof the Senat had great mer-

naile. And foorthwith the Senatours prouided for three suche thynges. The one was, that all these woordes should be put in writyng, to the entente that thei should be put in the booke ordeined to write in all good sayinges of straūge ambassadours. The seconde, to putte downe Gracchus Valerius, because he was so cruell, and in hatered with the people. The thirde, thei prouided Pylate of Lyon to bee Presidente of that realme. Than how seemeth it to the my freend Antigonus, did not this Tribune speake highly: O Rome without Rome that of Rome holdeth nothyng but the walles, and arte fallen into vnthriftie vices. What biddest thou whan suche a shame was laied to thee by an Hebrewe in the middes of the Senate? Certainly the greatest plage among all plages, and the greatest losse among all losses, is whan the Prince hath his lyfe so without lyfe, his iustice so without iustice, his deedes so without deedes, and in all cuill so bolde and hardie, and in all goodnes suche a coward, that rightwisely his owne men doo accuse hym, and straungers repreue him, none doeth loue him, but all hate him, and his frendes

des will not helpe him, and his enne-
mies will persecute him: They that be
present, refuse his goodnesse, and they
that be absent, procure his yll: they that
true take away his lyfe, and the dead
his sepulchre. Now to retourne to the
purpose of our Iudges. I pray the An-
tigonus, shewe me thy mynde, whereof
commeth now a daies the great sclaun-
der of the people, the infamie of the
prince, and the perill in iustice? If thou
knowest it not, harken and I shall shew
the whereby all goeth out of order. They
that be prime are so importunate, and
the princes not refusyng them they be-
guilyng and be sufferyng to be beguiled:
The one with couetise, and the other
with ignorance, doeth geue to suche
that he should take fro, and take away
from suche as he shoulde geue vnto, and
honoreth them that dishonoureth hym,
kepeth the rightwise in prison, and de-
liuereth the vicious, dispiseth expearte
persons, and trusteth the that be leude:
and finally they prouide not offices to
menne, but menne to offices. They or-
deine the vniust to minister iustice, and
doe iniurie to them that be iust: yet here
and I shall shew thee more.

These

These miserables after that they be appointed and set in their offices, where of they bee nothyng woorthy, more for their auctoritie than for merite of their personnes they are feared with their extreeme iustice. They take on theym the state of great men with the sweate and labour of poore men: They supply with malice that they want of discrecion: And woorst of all, they measure the iustice of other men with their owne proper vtilitie. Yet harken and I shall say more. After that these ideotes see theym selfe in the gulfe of these vaine businesses, than they lacke the raine of knowlage, and the sailes of wisedom, and the ankers of experience, nor can not remedie a small matter, but inuft other more greatter, alteryng and troubelyng the peace for they: owne particular wealth. They weepe for their owne harme. And no lesse for the wealth of other, and finally leese theym selfes. And therfore they aduenture them selfe into the gulfes, and inflame their lordes that haue geuen theim suche offices, to geue theim to suche as haue deserued theim. Thou maist know, that the begiunyng of them is pride and ambicion, and they: middle

is enuy and malice, and theyr ende is death and distruction. And if my councel were taken, such shuld haue no credence with princis or gouernours, but as scian died men to be separate, not all only fro the common welthe, but fro their liues. Surely great is the couetise of theym that be shameles, which without shame demande offices of the senate or princis, but it is a more boldnesse of malice for the princis to geue them. In this and in the other thynges these are so damnable, that neither the feare of the goddis doth withdraw thē, nor the prince doth not refraine them, nor vengeance doth not let them, nor the common welth wth not accuse them, and aboue all other, reason wth not commaud them, nor the law subdue them.

O my freende Antigonus, note this woorde that I writte in the ende of my letter. In the yere of the foundacion of Rome. vi. C. xlii. the Romaines as than in the woride had diuers warres, as Caius Celius against theim of Trace, and Gneo Cordon his brother against Sardine, Iunius Syllia agaynste the Cimbres, Minutius Rufus againste the Macedonians, Seruilio Scipio against

against the Lucretyns, and Marius consult against Jugurtha kyng of the Numidians. It befell so, that Bocco kyng of Mauritayne fauoured Jugurtha, and vpon theym triumphed Marius, and they laded with chaines were led afore his chariot, not without great compassion of therm that saw it. After his triumphe doone, incontinent the same day by counsell of the senate, Jugurtha was beheaded in prison, and his companion Boccus had pardon of his lyfe, and the cause was. It was a custome, none to be put to iustice, but fyrste the auncient bookes should be serched, to see if any of his predecessours had done before any seruice to Rome, whereby the captiue should merite to haue pardone of his lyfe: and than it was founde, that the graundfather of Boccus came to Rome, and made great oracions before the senate, by whose woordes and sentences, his saied neuew merited to haue pardon of his lyfe: and among other of his sayinges, he rehersed these verses that saied: what is that realme, where is no good among the yll, nor yll among the good: what is that realme, that hath their houses full of

good

good simple persons, and banysheth awaie all wisedom? Or what is that realme, that suche as be good are cowardes, and the yll hardie? or what is the realme, where all peasible are displeased, and the sedicious preised? What is that realme that sleeth theim that wold their welth, and are angry with theim that woulde helpe their yll? or what is that realme, that permitteth the proude poore folkes, and the riche tyrantes? or what is that realme, wher thei al know the euyll, and none procureth any goodnesse? or what is that realme, wher such vices are openly committed, that other realmes feare to doe secretly? or what is that realme, where as all that thei desyre thei procure, and all that thei do procure, thei atteine, and all that is yll thei thinke, and al ẏ thei thinke thei say, and all that thei say thei may do, and al that thei may do, thei dare do, and put in operaciō that thei dare do: and worst of all there is none so good to resist it? In such a realme there should be none inhabitante. For within short space the yll men shalbe chaunged, or els dispeopled of good mē, or the goddis will confound theim, or the tyrantis shall take theim.

Diuers

Diuers thynges were saied, the whi-
che I passe ouer at this tyme. Dow
thynkest thou Antigone? I sweare by
the immortall goddis, that my herte
breaketh to thinke of the greatte shame
that was layed vpon Rome by suche
writyng as was left to theim by the
graundefather of this kynge Boccus.
This my letter I would thou shouldest
reade in secrete to the pretours, and if
they amend not we shall finde the mea-
nes to chastise theim openly. And as
touchyng thy banisshement I promise
the to be thy good freende to the senate,
that we maie ioye our auncient amitee
together. And to gette the out of that
yle, certainly I shall dooe my diligence.
I haue written to my secretary Panu-
tius to delyuer the .ii. M. sexters to re-
leue thy pouertee: and thus I send the
my letter to comfort thy heuy hert. I
saie no more, but the goddis geue the
contentacion of that thou woldest haue
ioy, and reste to thy persone. And all
corporall euyls, cruell enmyes, and fa-
tal destenies be separate fro me Marke.
For the behalfe of my wyfe Faustine,
I salute the, and thy wyfe Ruffa: She
is thine, and I am thyne. With visitaci-
on

on of loye I haue receyued thy letter, and thankefully I sende the myne. I shall not cesse to desire to se thy persone in Italy, and there in Sicyle to leue my truce quarteyne.

¶ A letter sent by Marcus to Lambert gouernour of the yle of Helespont, whan he dyd banysshe the vacabundis fro Rome.

The, xii. letter.

MArke emperour of Rome, lorde of Asie, confederat with theim of Europe, frend of them of Affryke, enemie of the Maures: To the Lambertе gouernour of the yle of Helespontе, sendeth of his parte contentacion and suretee fro the Sacrate senate. I am furred with the furres that thou hast sent me, and am clothed with thy manteil, and am right well pleaseth with thy Greyhoundes: If I had thought, that thyn absence fro Rome should haue procured so much truit in that yle: long agoe I should haue determined as well for thy profite as for my seruice. I sent to the

in demaundyng but small thynges in my sport, and thou haste sente me many thynges in ernest. In good soth thou haste better proporcioned thy seruice with nobleness, than I to commaunde with my courtesie. For if thou remembre, I sent to the for a doseyne shynnes of furre, and thou haste sent me. xii. doseyne: and I dyd sende but for. vi. greshundes, and thou hast sent me. xii. Truly in this case my pleasure is double. For here in Rome thy great largesse is published, and my small courtesie there in Helespont. And because I am sure thou hast great thankes of me, I praie to god to send the salute and health, and that fortune be not denied the at a good houre. I sende the. iii. barkes of maister fooles, and yet I haue not sente the all. For if I had banished all the fooles in Rome, we should haue peopled vs with a new people. These maister fooles haue ben so wily to teache folye, and the Romaine youth so apte to learne, though thei be put in. iii. barkes, their disciples wold lade. iii. C. Carrakes. I haue great meruaile of one thyng, and my herte sclaundreth the goddis: for I see well the erthquakes casteth downe houses,

houses, and great waters beareth away bridges frostes freseth the vines, sodein thonderyng and tempestes breketh down toures, scarsitie of water causeth derth, corrupte ayre maketh an ende of theym that be wise: and yet there is nothyng that can make an end of these fooles. All thynges at this day faileth at Rome, except all onely these ydeil trewandes, iestours, tumblers, plaiers, or drōssates, iuglers, and suche other, of whom there is inow and to many. O what a seruice shouldest thou do to the gods, and what profite to Rome, that for three barkes full of fooles to send one lade with wise men: One thyng I will say, that with the bones of the wise men that yle is halowed that anciently were banyshed by the malice and enuy of theym of Rome: if thy smellyng wits be not lost as Italy stinketh of thē that be simple, so that yle smelleth swete of wise men.

Whan I came fro the wars of the Parthes, ỹ.iiii. yere of mine empire, I passed into that yle by diuers seas to see the sepulchres of auncient wyse men: and in the citie of Dorbite, in the middes therof, lieth Ouide, that was banished by August: and vnder the mountaine

Arpines is the sepulchre of the renowmed Armeno orotour, banished by Sylla: at the porte of Organant thou shalt fynde the bones of Colliodorus recapituler of the antike lawes, that was banyshed by Nero the cruell: and in the feelde of Elinos, vnder a marble, is the pouders of Sisifo Steneo, that was so well learned in the. vii. artes lyberall, as though he had new founde theym, he was banished by the Marians. I say for trouthe thou shalte fynde it thus, for with my knees I haue touched theyr sepulchres. And all that season my tender eyes were as full of water, as theyr bones were harde in the earth. These were not banished for no vilanies that they had doen: but it was the meryte of our forefathers, that they would bee pryuated fro the company of so noble barons: and we theyr children fro the pouder of so renoumed sages. I can not tell whiche is the greatter, the fantasie, that I haue to thyne yle, or the compassion of miserable Rome. I dooe praie the as my freende, and commaund the as my seruaunte, to regarde the places that I haue shewed the. For it is a iuste thyng, and moste iuste, that suche

cities

cities be priuileged by them that liueth, whan they are peopled with suche dead wise menne. And more ouer, Centurion knoweth by wordes, the heuy case, that these prisoners hadde with vs, and we with theim, the daie of the feast of mother Berecinthia. I say, I saw not that day so much cruelte in Rome, as we caused infamy through all the empyre. Rome was neuer ouercome, by theim that were valiaunt and vertuous, that daie we sawe ouergone, and troden vnder foote, by those fooles. The walles of Rome, that wer neuer touched by the Parthians, had that day theyr lowpes full of armed trewandes: Rome, that triumphed ouer all realmes, was triumphed vpon that daie, with tombiers and iuggiers. I am so abasshed in this case, that I wot not what to say or to write. Yet one thyng comforteth me, that sith Rome and the Romaines vnfullily doe reioyce with these fooles: she and the famouse wise men, iustly shalbe chastised for these fooles. And in this the goddis shall not be displeased, that sith Rome laugheth at these trewandies and mockeries, one day she shall weepe with these tõbiers and iuggiers.

I banishe all these for euer fro Rome, not for the bloud that they haue shed, but for the hearies that they haue peruerted, not for the occasion of any that be dead, but bycause they wer maisters of folies. Without comparison it is greater offence to the goddis, and more domage to the common wealth, these trewandes to take away the wittes fro the wise folkes, than the murtherers to take away mens liues. If the greattest gyft among all giftes of fortune, be, to kepe a good wit let no man presume, to be of a restfull vnderstandyng, that is an extreme frend to these trewandes. Beleue me one thyng. As one byrd loueth an other, and one wast an other, and one wise man an other: so one foole loueth an other foole.

¶ I remember, on a day, as I reuolued the registers in the capitol, I red a right meruailous thyng of Oruei* a famous oratour, whiche is buried in the Ile of Helespont, on the mount Adamantine. Whan great Scipio came fro the warre of the Pienians, better accompaignied with hunger starnen trewandes, than with valiant capitaines, he said to hym: Of trouthe it is a great shame to thee,

and

and a small honour to the Senate, that thou, that hast ouercome the wise Athens and beyng so wise thy self, and of the bloud of the wise Romains, wilt be accompanied with these trewands and fooles. In that vnhappie realme, al the wise men could not ouercome one, that was thought so mighty, among so many fooles. I saie to thee, that thy wit is in more perill here in Rome, than thy life in Affrike.

¶ These were good wordes, and not of no worldlie malice. And within a short while after, and by diuers light persõs, and for a small occasion, this poore olde oratour, and riche Philosopher, by the frendes of Scipio, was banished Rome, and sent into that Ile.

¶ Than behold Lambert, let vs returne to these iuggiers and trewandes. whan thei are landed in that Ile, let them go frank and free, so that thei vse not their accustomed tapes. Thou shalt constrain them to labour, and chastise them if thei be idle. For these miserable folke, beyng from iust trauaile, take on them vniuste idilnesse, and cõuert mo men with their trewandise, than if open scholes of vagabundes were kept.

¶ There is nothyng that our forefathers did, that displeseth me so muche, as the sufferance of these vnthryftie trewandes.

¶ In the yere. CCCLvi. of the foundacion of Rome. in the tyme of an horrible pestilence in Italie, to reioice the people was first founde out the inuencion of Theatres, by the aduise of the trewandes. It is a shameful thing to here, that the pestilence dured but two yeres, and the rage of these vnthryftes dureth. iiii. hundred yeres.

¶ Lambert, I beleue wel, that the complaintes, that these prisoners haue begon here, shall neuer haue an end there. How be it, I care not: for the grudge of theim, that be yll, iustifieth the iustice and sentence of theim, that be good. As the maister of Nero saied: As muche as the shame of sinne ought to be feede of theim, that be good, so muche praise is the infamie of the yll. I shall tell thee one thing, to thentent, that the chastisement should not seeme cruell to the. Seyng the emperours of Rome are full of clemencie to straungers, it is no reason, that thei shold be so sharp to their own. With fatal miseries hath brought me into

to

to this world. I haue seen nothing more vnprofitable to the common welth, nor greatter folie in theim, that be light of conditions, nor a worse inuection for vacabundes, nor a more cold reuocation of mortall folk, than to leene of these gamesters and triflers, and suche other iuggiers. What thyng is more monstrous, than to see wyse men reioyce at the passime of these vain trifles? What greater mocherie can be in the capitoll, than the folish saiyng of a iester to be praised with great laughter of wise men? what greatter sclaunders can be to Princes houses, than to haue their gates alwais open to receiue in these fooles, and neuer open to wise folkes? What greatter crueltee can there bee in any person, than to geue more in one daie to a foole, than to his seruantes in a yere, or to his kinne, all his life? What greater inconstaunce can there be, than to want men to furnishe the garrisons and frontiers of Illirico, and these trewandes to abide at Rome? What lyke shame can there be to Rome, than that the memorie shall be lefte more in Italie of these tumblers, trewandes, pypers, syngers of ieftes, tabourers, croudets, daun-

ters, mummers, iesters, and suggiers, than the renoume of capitaines, with their triumphes and armes. And whan these captiues wandered all aboute in Rome in laserie, sounyng their leudnes, and gatherynge of money: the noble barons and capitaines, went from realme to realme, wastyng their money, aduenturyng their liues, and shedding their blud.

¶ In the vttermost part of Spain, whē war began betwene the Liberiens and Gobitaines, and they of Liberie lacked money: two suggiers and tabourers, offred to maintein the war a hole yere. And it folowed that with the goodes of two fooles, many wise men were slaine and ouercome.

¶ In Ephese, a citee of Asie, the famous Temple of Diana was edified with the confiscation of the goodes, of suche a trewand and foole.

¶ Whan Cadmus edified the citie of Thebes in Egypt, with fiftie gates, the mynstrelles gaue him more towarde it, than all his frendes.

¶ If the historie be true, whan August edified the wals of Rome, he had more of the trewandes, that were drowned in Tyber, than of the common treasorie.

The

¶ The firſt kyng of Corinth aroſe by ſa the villains, I ſaw his ſepulchre at Corinthi. And as I ſay of this ſmall number, I might ſay of many other.

¶ Behelde than Lambert, how litteil care the goddis take, and how variable the caſe of fortune is, and how the deedis of men fall. Some be had in memory for their folye, and ſome for their wiſdome. One thyng is come to my mynde of the chaunce of theſe trewandres, and that is, whyle they be in preſence, they make euery man to laugh at the folies that they doo and ſay, and whan they be gone, euery man is ſory for his money, that they bare away. And of trouthe, it is a iuſt ſentence of the Goddis, that ſuche as haue taken vaine pleaſure together, whan they are departed, to weepe for theyr loſſes. I wyll wryte no more vnto thee: but I do ſende the this letter in Greke, to the entent that thou ſhew it ouer all the Ile. Send foorth with the ſhippes agayn, for they muſt be ſent forth with the prouiſions into Illiricio. Peace be with the Lambert, health and good fortune be with me Marc. The Senate ſaluteth the. And thou on my behalfe, ſhalt ſhew to the Ile, the ioyfull hap-

happie customes. My wife Faustine sa-
luteth thee, and sendeth a riche gridell
to thy doughter. And in recompence of
the tartes, I send the riche iewelles.

¶ A letter sent by Marke the Emperour
to Catulus his speciall freende
of the nouelties of Rome.

The. xiii. letter.

Arcus the new censore, to the
Catulus the old censore. It is
x. daies past, that in the tem-
ple of god Janus, I receiued
thy letter: And I take the same god to
witnes, that I had rather haue seen thy
person. Thou writest, how my writyng
is long, but the shortnesse of tyme ma-
keth me to aunswere thee more briefly,
farre away more than I would. Thou
desirest me to geue the knowlage of the
newes here. Thereto I aunswere, that it
were better to demaunde, if there be
any thynge abiden here in Rome or Ita-
ly, that is olde. For now by our hea-
uy destinies, all that is good and olde,
is ended, and newe thynges that be yl
and detestable, we may see daily. The
Emperor, the Consull, the Tribune, the

Sen-

Senatours, the Ediles, the Flamines, the Pretours, the Centurions, all these thynges be newe, but the villanies, that been olde, and all passeth to make new offices, and to ordeine statutes and practikes, and than to come to the counsels, and to reise vp subsidies. In suche wyse, that there hath ben now mo noueltiies within these. iiii. yeres, than in tyme passed in. iiii. C. yeres. We now assemble together a. iii. C. to counsell in the capitol: and there we blason & boste, sweare and promise, that som of vs may subdue and put vnder other, to fauour one, & distroy an other, other to chastise the yll, and rewarde the good: To repayre olde, and edyfy new: To plucke vices vp by the rootes, and to plant vertues: to amende the olde, and folow the good: to reproue tyrantes, and assyste the poore: and whan that we are gone from thense, they that speake best woordes, are often taken with the worst ddes. O heuy Rome, that now a daies hath such Senatours, that in saiyng, we shall doe, we shall do, passeth theyr lyfe: and than euery man, sekyng for his owne profytte, forgetteth the common wealth. Oftentimes I am in the

Senate

Senate to behold other, as they regarde me: and I am abashed to heare the eloquence of they: wordes, the zele of iustice, and the iustification of they: persones: and after that I come theus, I am aschamed to see their secrete extorcions, they: damnable thoughtes, and they: yll workes so plaincly manifest. And yet there is an other thyng of more mervaile, and not to be suffered, that such persones, as are moste defamed, and vse most dishonest vices, with they: most damnable intencions, make they: avowes to do most cruell iustice. It is an ineffable rule, and of humayne malice most vsed, that he that is most hardy to committe greatest crimes, is most cruell to geue sentence against an other for the same offence. We thinke that we regard our owne crimes, as the: ow smallnesse, that causeth thynges to seeme the lesser. And we remembre the faultes of other in the water, that causeth thinges to seme greatter than they be.

O how many haue I sene condemned to be hanged by the senate, for one small faute, dooen in all the yle, and yet they committe the same faute euery houre.

¶ I haue redde, that in the tyme of Alexander the great, there was a renomed pyrate or rouer on the sea, which robbed and drowned all shyppes, that he coulde gette: and by commaundement of this good kynge Alexander, there was an armye sente forth to take hym. And whan he was taken, and presented to Alexander, the kyng saied to hym: ¶ Shewe me Dionides, why doest thou keepe the sea in daungier, that no shyppe can sayle out of the east into the west, for the? The pyrate answered, and saied: If I keepe the sea in daungier, why doest thou Alexander keepe all the sea and lande as iuste? O Alexander, because I fyghte with one shyppe in the sea, I am called a theefe, and because thou robbest with two hundred shyppes on the sea, and troublest all the worlde with .ii. hundred thousande men, thou arte called an Emperour. I sweare to the Alexander, if fortune were as fauourable to me, and the goddis as extreme agaynste the: they woulde gyue me thyne Empyre, and gyue the my lytteli shyppe, and than peraduenture I shoulde bee a better kyng than thou art, and thou a worse

theefe

thefe than I am.

¶ These were hygh woordes, and well receyued of Alexander: and of trouth, to see if his wordes were correspondent to his promises, he made hym from a pyrate to a great capitaine of an army, and he was more vertuous on lande, than he was cruell on the see.

¶ I promyse the Catulus, Alexander dyd right well therein, and Dionides was to be praised greatly, for that he had saied. Now a daies in Italie, thef that robbe openly, ar called lordes: and thei that rob priuely, ar called theues.

¶ In the yere bokes of Liuius, I haue red, that in the second troublous warre punike, betwene the Romains and Carthaginense, there came an ambassadour Lusitayn, sent fro Spayne, to treate for accorde of peace. Whan he came to Rome, he proued before the senate, that sith he entred into Italie, he had beene ten tymes robbed of his gooddes, and whyles he was at Rome, he had seene one of thei n that robbed hym, hange vp an other, that had defended hym. He seyng so yll a dede, and howe the thefe was saued without iustice, as a desperate man, toke a cole, and wrote on the

gybet

gybet as foloweth.

¶ O gybet thou art made amonge theues, norished among theues, cut of theues, wrought of theues, made of theues, set among theues, and thou art peopled with innocentes.

¶ And there as I redde these wordes, was in the originall of Liuius, and in his histories. I sweare to the by the immortall goddis, that all the Decade was writtyn with blacke ynke, and these wordes with redde vermilyon. I can not tell, what wordes I should send the, but that euery thyng is so newe and so tender, and is ioigned with so yll sement, that I feare me, all will fal sodeynly to the plaine earth. I tell the, that some are sodeynly rysen within Rome vnto valour, to whom I will rather assure their fall, than their lyfe. For all buildyng hastely made, can not be sure. The longer a tree is kepte in his kynde, the longer it will be er it be olde. The trees, whose fruite we eate in sommer, do warme vs in wynter. O howe many haue we seene, wherof we haue meruayled of their risyng, and ben abashed of their falles. Thei haue growen as a hole piece, and sodeynly

wasted as a skumme. Their felicitie hath been but a short poinct, and their infortune as a longe lyfe. Finally thei haue are died the mille, and armed it with stones of encreace, and after a littell grindyng, lett it in vtile all the hole yere after. Thou knowest well my frend Catulus, that we haue seene Cincius Fuluius in one yere made consule, and his children tribunes, and his wife a matrone for younge maydens, and besyde that, made keeper of the capitoll, and after that not in one yere, but the same daie we saw Cincius beheaded in the place, his children drowned in Tybre, his wyfe banissheth fro Rome, his howse raced downe to the grounde, and all his good confisked to the cōmon tresory. This rigorous exaumple we haue not redde in any boke, to take a copy of it, but we haue sene it with our eyes to kepe it in our myndes. As the nacions of people are variable, so are the condicions of men diuers, and appetites of mortall folke: and me thinketh this is true, seyng that som loue, some hate, and that that some seeke, some escheweth: And that that some setteth littell by, other make of. In suche wyse, that all

all can not be content with one thyng, nor some with all thynges can not be satisfied. Let euery man choose as hym lyste, and embrace the worlde whan he wyll. I had rather mount a soft pace to the fallyng, and if I can not come therto, I wyll abyde by the way, rather than with the sweatte to mount hastily, and than to tumble downe headlyng. In this case sythe mennes hertes vnderstande it, we nee not to write further with pennes. And of this mattier regarde not the littell that I dooe say, but the great deale that I wyll say. And syth I haue begun, and art in straunge landes, I will write the all the newes fro hens. This yere the .xxv. daie of May, there came an ambassadour out of Asie, saiyng he was of the yle of Cetyn, a baron right elegant of body, ruddy of a spect, and ryght hardy of courage. He considered beyng at Rome, though the sommers daies wer long yet wynter would draw on, and than would it be daungerous saylyng into this yle, and saw that his busines was not dispatche: On a day beyng at the gate of the senate, seyng all the senatours entre into the Capitoll, without any

armour vpon theym, be as a mā of good spirite, and selatour of his countrey, in the presence of vs all, said these wordes. O fathers conscript, O happy people. I am come from a straunge countrey to Rome, onely to see Rome, and I haue founde Rome without Rome: The walles, wherwith it is inclosed, hath not brought me hyther, but the fame of them that gouerne it. I am not come to see the treasurey, wherin is the treasure of all realmes, but I am come to see the sacred senate, out of the which issueth the counsaile for all men. I came not to see you, because ye vanquisshe all other, but because I thought you more vertuous than all other. I dare well say one thyng, except the goddes make me blinde, & trouble myne vnderstandyng, ye be not Romaines of Rome, nor this is not Rome of the Romaynes your predecessours. We haue hearde in our yle, that dyuers realmes ben wonne by the valiantes of one, and conserued by the wisedome of all the Senate: And at this houre ye are more lyke to be distroied, than to winne as your fathers dyde: all their exercise was in goodnesse, and ye that are theyr chil-

chyld:en, passe all your time in ceremonies. I saie this ye Romaines, because ye haue almoste kylled me with laughyng at you, to see how ye bot all as muche your diligence to leaue your armure without the gate of the Senate, as your predecessoures did take to theim to defende the Empyre. What profite is it to you, to leaue your armes for the suerties of your persones, and put them on, wherwith ye slea all the world? What profiteth it to the thoughtfull suiter, that the Senatour entreth vnarmed into the Senate without swearde or dagger: And his heart entreth into the Senate armed with malice? O Romains, I will ye know, that in our Ile we hold you not as armed capitaynes, but as malicious Senatours, not with sharpe grounden sweardes and daggers, but with hard heartes and venemouse tongues ye feare vs. If ye should in the Senate put on harneis, and therwith take awaie your liues, it were but a smalle losse, seeyng that ye suffeine not the innocentes, nor dispatche not the businesses of suiters. I can not sucker it. I can not tell in what state ye stande here at Rome: For in our Ile we take armour

from fooles, whether your armours are take awaie as fro fooles or mad folkes, I wot not. If it be doen for ambitiousnesse, it commeth not of Romains, but of tyrauntes, that wrangelers and vnfull folke should not be iudges ouer the possible, and the ambitious ouer the mete, and the malicious ouer the symple. If it be doen because ye be fooles, it is not in the law of the goddis, that thre hundred fooles shoulde gouerne three hundred thousand wise menne. It is a long season that I haue taried for mine answere and licence, and by your madnes I am nowe farther of, than I was the first day. We bryng oyle, hony, safron, wodde, and tymber, salte, syluer and gold out of our Ile into Rome, and ye wyll that we goe els where to seke Iustice. ye wyll haue one law to gather your rentes, and an other to determine our Iustice. ye wyll that we pay our tributes in one daie, and ye wyll not discharge one of our errandes in a whoile yere. I require you Romains determine your selues to take away our liues, and so we shall end: or elles heare our complaintes, to thentent that we may serue you. For in an other maner it may be, than

than ye know by hearyng with your ea-
res, which peraduenture ye would not
se with your eien. And if ye thynke my
wordes be out of measure, so that ye will
remedy my countrey, I set not by my
lyfe. And thus I make an ende. Verily
freende Catulo, these be the woordes
that he spake to ye senate, whiche I gat
in writyng. I say of trouth, that the har-
dinesse that the Romains wer woont to
haue in other countreies, the same as
nowe straungers haue in Rome. There
were that saied, that this ambassadour
should be chastised, but the goddis for-
bid, that for saiyng trouthe in my pre-
sence, he shuld haue ben correct. It is e-
nough and to much to, to suffer these e-
uils, though we sle not & percecute those
that aduertise and warne vs of theym.
The shepe are not in suertie of the wolfe,
but if the shepherd haue his dogge with
him. I meane, dogges ought not to leaue
barkyng for to awake the shepeherdes.
There is no god commaunderth, nor law
counsailleth, nor common welth suffe-
reth, that they which ar committed to
chastise liers, should hang them that
saie trouthe. And sith the Senatours
shew them selfe men in their liuyng, and
 som-

sometyme more humain than other that be sclaues, who els should deliuer them from chastisement? Oh Rome and no Rome, hauyng nothyng but the name of Rome, where is now become the noblenesse of thy triumphes, the glorie of thy children, the rectitude of thy Justice, and the honour of thy Temples? for as now thei chastise hym more that mourmureth against one onely Senatour, than thei do them that blaspheme all the goddis at ones. For it greeueth me more to see a Senatour, or censore to be woorste of all other, than it displeaseth me, that it should be saied, that he is the best of all other. For a trouthe I saie to thee my freende Catulus, that as now we neede not seke to the goddis in the Temples, for the Senatours are made Goddis in our handes. This is the difference betwene theim that been immortall and thei that be mortal. For the goddis neuer doe thyng that is yl, and the Senatoures doe neuer good thyng: The Goddis neuer lye, and they neuer saie trouthe: the Goddis pardon often, and thei neuer forgeue: the Goddis are content to be honoured fiue tymes in the yeare, and the Senatours

tours would be honoured tenne tymes a daie. What wilt thou that I saie more? but what so euer the goddis doe, thei oughte to be praised, and the Senatours in all their woorkes deserue to be reproued. Finallie I conclude, that the Goddis assure and affirme euery thing, and thei erre and faile in nothing: and the Senatours assure nothyng, but erre in all thyng: eueiy for one thyng, the Senatoures are not of reason to be chastised: and that is, whan thei intend not to amende their faultes. thei will not suffer the Oratours to waste their tyme to shewe them the trouthe. Be it as maie be, I am of the opinion, that what man or woman, withdrawetth their eares from heryng of trouth, impossible it is for them, to applie their hearties to loue any vertues: Be it Censore that iudgeth, or Senatour that ordeineth, or Emperour that commaundeth, or Consull that executeth, or Oratour that preacheth. No mortall man, take he neuer so good hede to his woorkes, nor reason so well in his desires, but that he deserueth some chastisement for some cause or counsayle in his doynges. And sith I haue written

to thee thus of other, I will somewhat speake of my selfe, because of the woordes of thy letter. I haue gathered, that thou desirest to knowe of my persone. Knowe thou for certayne, that in the Kalendes of Januarie, I was made Censor in the Senate, the whiche office I desired not, nor I haue not deserued it. The opinion of all wyse men is that no manne, without treachwritte, or surmounteth in folie, will gladlie take on him the burdeine and charges of other menne. A greatter case it is, for a shamefast manne to take on hym an office to please euery manne, for he muste shewe a countenaunce outwarde, contrarie to that he thinketh inwarde. Thou wilt saie, that the good are ordeigned to take the charge of offices. O vnhappie Rome, that hath willed to take me in suche wise, as to be the best in it. Greuouse pestilence ought to come for theim that be good, sith I am scaped, as good among the vil. I haue accepted this office, not for that I had any neede therof, but to satisfie the desires of my wife Faustine, and to fulfill the commaundement of Antonius my graundfather. Haue no mervayle of

any

any thyng that I dooe, but of that I leaue to be dooen. For any man that is wedded to Faustine, there is no vylany but he shall dooe it, I sweare to thee, that sith the day we wer wedded, me seemeth that I haue no witte. I leaue weddyng for this tyme, and returne to speake of offices. Surely a pesible man ought to be in offices, though it be peinfull: for as the offices are assured among theym that be vertuous, so perillousely goeth the vertuous folke among offices. And for the trouthe hereof recken what they winne, and than thou shalt se what they lose. Say that is good, yf thou knowest it, and heare the yll, if thou desire to knowe it. He that will take the charge to gouerne other, he seketh thought and trouble for him selfe, enuy for his neighbours, spurres for his ennemies, pouertie for his richesse, awakyng of theues, peril for his bodie, and end of his daies, and torment for his good renoume. Finally he seketh a waie to reiecte his friendes, and a repeale to recouer his enemies. O an vnhappy man is he, that taketh on him the charge of children of many mothers, for he shall be alwaies

waies charged with thoughtes, how he should content theim all: ful of syghes, because one hath to geue him: feare that one should take fro hym, wepyng if he leese: and suspection that they infame him. He that knoweth this, without long tariyng ought to set a bridell at his head. But I say of one, as I say of an other. For I wyll sweare, and thou wylt not denay it, that we may fynde some nowe a daies, that had rather be in the parke to fight against the Bulles, than be in suertie vpon the scaffold. Oftentymes I haue heard say, Goe we to the Theatres to renne at the bulles: go we to chase the Hartes and wilde Bores: and whan they come there, they renne away, not the beastes fro theim, but they fro the beastes. In suche wyse as they went runnyng, they retourne againe fleeyng. I say, these ambicious persons procure to gouerne, and are gouerned: they commaund, and are commaunded: they rule and are ruled: and finally thinkyng to haue diuers vnder their handes, these wretches put theym selfes vnder euery mans foote. For the remedy of all these perilles, my thought is comforted with one thyng,
and

and that is, without procuryng or offe-
ryng my selfe, the senate of theyr owne
wyll hath commaunded me. In the viii.
table of our auncient lawes be these
wordes. we commaunde that in our sa-
cred senate charge of iustice be neuer gi-
uen to hym that willyngly offreth him
selfe to it, but to such as by type delibe-
racion be chosen. This is certeinly a iust
law. For men now be not so vertuous
nor so louing to the common welth, that
they wyll forget their own quietnes and
rest, to yng homage to them selfe, to pro
cure an other mans profite. There is
none so folish, that wyll leaue his wyfe,
children, and his own swete countrey,
to goe into strange countreis, but if he se
him selfe amonge straunge people, think-
yng vnder the colour of iustice to seke
for his own vtilitie. I say not this with
out weepyng, that the princis with their
small study and thought, and the iudges
with their counsise, haue vndermined
and shaken downe the high walles of
the policy of Rome. O my freend Catu-
lus, what wilt thou that I should say,
but that our credence so minisheth, our
counsise so largely stretcheth, our hardy
nes so boldeth, our shamefastnesse so

shame-

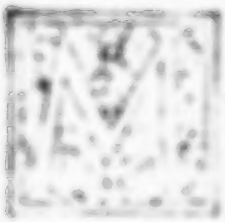
shameles, that we prouide for iudges to go and rob our neighbours as capitains against our enemies? I let the to witte, where as Rome was beloued for chastisyng the vil, now it is as much hated for dispoilyng of innocentes. I doe remembre that I red, in the time of Denis Syracusian that ruled al Sicile, there came an ambassadour fro Rhodes to Rome, beyng of a good age, wel learned and valiant in armes, and right curious to regard euery thyng. He came to Rome to se the maiestie of the sacred senate: the heyght of the hygh capitoll enuironned with the Collisee: the multitude of senatours, the wisdome of the counsailours, the glory of triumphes, the correction of the vil, the peace of the inhabitauntes, the diuersitie of nacions, the abundance of the maintenaunce, the order of the offices, and finally seyng that Rome was Rome, he was demanded how he semed therby? he answered and said. O Rome in this thy present world thou art ful of vertues and wise men, hereafter thou shalt be furnished with fooles. O what hygh and very high wordes were these: Rome was vi. C. yeres without necessitie of houses of fooles, and now it hath

been. iii. C. yeres without one wyse or vertuouse. Loke what I say it is no mockery, but of trouth, if the pitieful goddis now a daies did reise our predecessours fro death to lyfe, either thei would not know vs for their children, or elles attache vs for fooles. These be thynges vsed in Rome, but thou sendest no worde of that is vsed in Agripine, I will write nothyng to the, to put the to peine: write to me some thyng to reioyce me, if thy wyfe Dynsilla chanced wel of the flote that came out of Cetin with salt, oyle, & hony, I caused it to be well prouided for hir. Witte thou, that Flodius our vncle was cast down by rage of his horse, and is deceassed. Laertia and Collodius are freendes together, by occasion of a mariage. I do send the a gowne, I pray to the goddis to sende the ioy therof. My wife Faustine saluteth the. Recommend me to Iamyro thy sonne. The gods haue the in kepyng, and contrary fortune bee fro me. Marcus thy freend to the Catulus his owne.

A letter

¶ A letter sent by Marke the emperour to the amourouse ladies of Rome, because thei made a play of hym.

The, xiiii letter.



MArke oratour learnynge at Rhodes the arte of humanitee, to you amorous ladies of Rome salutaciō to your persones, & amendment of your desired life. It was written to me, that at the feast of the mother of the goddis, Berecinthia, all ye together there present plaied, and gested on me: wherein ye laied for an exaumple my lyfe and my renoume. It is shewed me, that Auilia composed it, Lucia Fulua wrote it, and thy selfe Toriugula dyd syng it, and ye all togyther dyd present it to the Theathre: ye haue portraied and painted me in diuers maners, with a booke in my hande tourned contrary as a fained philosopher: with a tong alone, as a bolde speaker without measure, with a horne on my heade, as a common cuckolde, with a nettell in my hande, as a tremblyng louer: with a baner fallen downe, as a cowarde capitaine: with

halfe

halfe a bearde, as a feminate man: with a cloth before myne eies, as a condempned vacabounde: and yet not contente with this, but the other day ye portraied me in a newe maner. Ye made my figure, with feete of straw, my legges of ambre, my knees of wood, the thyghes of brasse, the bealy of horne, the armes of pitche, the handes of mace, the head of yesso, the eares of an asse, the eies of a serpent, the heares of rootes sagged, the teth of a catte, the tongue of a scorpion, and the forehead of leade, wherin was written in two lynes these letters, M. N. T. N. I. S. U. S, the whiche meneth (as I do take it) The mortal man taketh not the state so straunge, as the doublenes of the lyfe: and than ye went to the ryuer, and therein tyed his heade downwarde a hole dale. And yf the lady Messalyn had not bene, I thinke it had ben tyed there tyll now.

And now ye amorous ladies haue written to me a letter by Fulvius Fabritius, wherof I receyued no peine, but as an amorous man, from the handes of ladies I take it as a mockery. And to the intent that I shuld haue no tyme for to thynke theron, ye sende to wyt a

question of me, that is: if I haue founde in my writynges, wherof, by whom, where, whan, what, and how the first womenne were made. And because my complexion is to take moches for mocksynges, and sythe ye demaunde it, I shall shewe it you and your frendes and myne, and specially Fulcius your messager hath desired me thereto. There is nothyng, wherof I complayne, but I will holde my peace, saue to your letter and demaunde I will answere. And sythe there hath ben none for to aske the question, I protest, that to none other, but to you amorous women of Rome, I sende myne answere. And if any other honest lady will take the demaunde of you, it is a token that she hath enuy of the office that ye be of. Certainly if any ladie sheweth hir selfe annoyed with your paine openly, fro hens forth I condemne hir, that she kepe no faulte that she knoweth in secrete. The that bee on the stage, feare not the toryng of the bull: and he that is in a dungeon, feareth not the shotte of artillery: I will say, a woman of good life feareth no man with an yll tongue. The good maistrones maie keepe me for their perpe-

tual

tuall seruaunt, and they that be yll, for their chiefe ennemy. Now to aunswere the question, to know whereof the fyrst women were made, I say, that accordyng to the diuersitie of nacions, that be in the worlde, dyuers opinions I fynd in this case.

¶ The Egypcians say, that whan the fludde of Nyle ranne abrode, and watred the earthe, there abode certaine peces of earthe, cleauyng together lyke greace, and than the heate commyng in them, created many wyld beastes, and so among theym was founde the fyrste woman. Note ye ladies, that it was necessary, that the flud of Nyle shoulde flowe ouer his brymmes, that the fyrst woman might be made on the earth. All creatures are bredde in the entrailes of theyr mothers, except the woman that was bred without a mother. And this semeth trewe, that without mothers ye were borne, because without rule ye liue and without order ye die. Verely he putteth him selfe to many trauailles, and hath many wyles to fynde, and many tymes to thynke, and to aske many succoures, and to abyde many yeres, and to choose amonge many wo-

men that wyll rule one onely wyfe by reason. Be the beastes neuer so cruell and fierce, at the laste the lyon is ledde of his keper without any bande. The bull is closed in the parke: the brydell ruleth the horse, a littell hooke catcheth the fisshe, and the woulfe suffreth to be tied: onely a woman is a beast vnable to be tamed, and neuer leseth hyr boldnes for any thyng that is commaunded hyr, nor the brydell, for not beyng commaunded. The goddis haue made men as men, and beastes as beastes, and the humaine vnderstandyng very hygh, and his strength of a great power: but yet is there no man, be he neuer so high, that shall scape the woman lyghtly, nor defende him be he neuer so strong. But I say to you my ladies: There is no spurres that can make you goe, nor raines that can holde you, nor brydell that can refrayne you, nor angle or nette that can take you: and fynally there is no lawe can subdue you, nor shame refrayne you, nor feare abashe you, nor chastisement amend you. O to what an yll aduenture putteth he hym selfe, that thinketh to rule and correct you. For if ye take an opinion

in

in hande, all the worlde shall not drawe you from it: if a man tell or warne you of any thyng, ye will neuer beleue him: If one geue you good counsell, ye will not take it: if one threaten you, anone ye complayne: if one flatter you, than ye wexe prowde: if one reporte not in you, ye are spitefull: if one forbeare you, it maketh you bolde: if ye be chastised, ye tourne to Serpentes: Finally a woman will neuer forgeue any iniurye, nor geue thanke for any good deede. Howbeit the most simple of all women, If sweare, will sweare, that she knoweth lesse than she dooeth: and of trouth, the most wisest mans wit shall faile in their reasons: and yet the wysest of them swarueth from all wisedom. Will ye knowe my Ladies, how little ye knowe, and how much ye be ignorant? That is, ye determine sodenly in hard thynges of grauitie, as if ye had studied for it a thousand yeres: and if any gaynsay you, ye take him as a mortall enemy. Hardy is that woman, that dare geue counsayll to a man, but he is more hardie that taketh it of a woman. But I say, he is a foole that taketh it, and he more foole that asketh it, and he

is much more foolish, that fulfilleth it. Mine opinion is, that he that wyll not fall among so many stoanes, nor pricke hym among so many thornes, nor blyster hym among so many nettyls, leat hym heare what I wyll say, and do as ye shall see: speake well and worke yll: In promisyng promise muche, in fulfillyng fulfyll nothyng, and finally allow your woordes, and condemne your counselles. If one should demaunde now a daies of diuers right renowmed persons, that ben dead, how they did with the counsell of woomen whan they liued: I am sure, they would not haue rysen than to beleue theim, nor at this howre to be reuyued agayne to heare theim. How was Kyng Phylip of Macedon with Olympias? Paris with Helena? Alexander with Rosana? Eneas with Dido? Hercules with Deyanira? Haniball with Thamyra? Nero with Agrippine? and if ye wyll not beleue, what they suffered with theim, demaund of me how I doooe among other. O ye women, I remembryng that I am borne of one of you, abhorre my lyfe: and I thinkyng that I liue with you, desire death. For there

is none other deathe as to treate with you. and no better life than to flee from you. It is a common saiyng among women, that we men be vnkynde, because we beyng borne in your entrailes, doe entreate you as bonde women and seruantes: and ye saie, sith ye bere vs with perill, and nourishe vs with trauayle, that it were conuenient and iuste, that we alwaies should be occupied in your seruices. Oftentymes I haue studied, why men desire women so muche. There is no eies, but they ought to weepe, no hearte but it shoulde breake, no spirite but it should be sorowfull to see a wise manne losse by a foolishe woman. The foolishe louer passeth the daie to satisfie his sight, the darke night to tomble with vaine thoughtes. one daie beryng tidynges, an other daie he offereth seruice: one time louyng darknes, an other tyme he hateth lyghte: he byeth with companie, and liueth solitarie: and finally the poore folishe louer mai that he will not, and willeth that he maie not. Nore ouer the counsell of his frendes profiteth hym not. nor the shame of his enmies, nor losse of his goodes, nor the aduenture of honor, nor losing of his life,

nor sekyng of death, nor commyng nere, nor goyng farre, nor seing with eies, nor hearyng with eares, nor tastyng with mouthe, nor yet feelyng of hand: and finally to atteigne victorie, he hath alwaie warre against hym selfe. I would these louers knewe fro whence loue procedeth, it is this. The entrailes that we are bred in, is of fleshe: the brestes that we sucke, ar of fleshe: the armes that we are norished in, be of fleshe: the workes that we doe, are of the fleshe, by the whiche occasions cōmeth the repeale of our fleshe to their fleshe. Many fre herees fall into the snares of loue. It sremeth wel my ladies, that ye ar brought vp in puddelles, as the Egypciens saie: The puddelles keepe no clere water to drinke, nor fruite to eate, nor fishe to be taken, nor vessell to saile with: I do saie, ye are fowle in your liuyng, shamefull in your persons, in aduersitee feble and lethie, in prosperitee subtyll and wily, false in woordes, doubtful in your workes. In hatyng ye keepe a disorder, extreeme to loue, auaricious to geue, vnshamefast to take, and I saie ye are a receite of feare, where as wise men find perill, and symple menne suffre. In you

wise

wise men holde their renowmes disallowed, and the symple men their life in penurie.

¶ Let vs leaue the opinions of the Egyptians, and come to the Greekes, whiche saie, that in the desertes of Arabie, the sunne shyneth most hotte, and they saie, that at the biginnyng, there appeared a woman alone, with a byrde called Phenix, the whiche byrde they saie, was created of the water, and the woman of the great heate of the sunne, and of the corruption of the poudre that falleth fro the trees, which the wormes doe eate. In this wyse there was a tree sore eaten with wormes, and it chanced by heate of the sunne, and byrthe of the powder, that a fyre kendled, and so brent it, and than of the fyre and powder of the saied brent tree, the first woman was made. And though I be a philosopher Romayne, I will not saie that the opinion of the Philosopher Greeke was yll. For of trouthe ye Ladies that be amorouse, haue your tongues of the nature of fyre, and your condicions of the rottennesse of the powder of wood. After the diuersitee of beastes, nature hath put some strength in diuers partes

of their bodies, as the egle in the beake, the vnicorne in the horne, the serpent in the tayle, the bull in the head, the beare in the armes, the horse in the breast, the dog in the teeth, the bogge in the groin, the wood doue in hir wynges, and women in their tonges. Of trouth the flight of the wood doue is not so high, as the phantasie of your folies, nor the catte scratcheth not so sore with hir nayles, as ye scratche fooles with your importunities: nor the dog hurteth not them, that he renneth at, as ye doe the sorowfull louer that serueth you: nor he is not in so great perill of his life that catcheth the Bull by the hornes, as the good fame of the louer is, that falleth into your handes. And finally the serpent hath not so muche poyson in his tayle, as ye haue in your tongues. Set all the good Romayne ladies apart: for there bee many, of whom there is no complainte of their persones, nor suspection of their good names. Of all suche my letter speaketh not, nor my pẽne writeth not of theim, but of other: I speake of women that be suche, that all venemous beastes haue not so muche poyson in their bodies, as they haue in

their

theſe tongues. And ſith that the goddis haue commaunded, and our deſtinies doe permit, that the life of men can not paſſe without women: therfore I admoneſtile theſe young people, and pray them that be old, and awake wiſe men, and teache the ſimple, to flee away from women of yll name, rather than from a common peſtilence.

¶ Readyng the auncient lawes of Plato, I find written thus: we commaund, that all women openly infamed, be openly put out of the citie, to the entent that other ſeyng their ſinnes not vnpuniſhed, may abhorre the ſinne for feare to fall into the ſame pein. Alſo the ſame law ſaith: We commaund, that pardon be geuen to a woman of all the faultes committed by hir own bodie, yf any amendement be ſeene in hir: but neuer to pardon them that haue committed ſinne with their tonges. For cõmittyng ſinne with an yll perſon, is of fragilitie, but with the tong it is of pure malice.

¶ O diuine Plato, maiſter and meaſure of all vnderſtandyng, and prince of all Philoſophers, whan thou madeſt that lawe in the golden worlde, that there was neuer ſuche ſtarſnes of yll women,

and

and so great abundance of good women in Greece. What shall we doe now in Rome, where there be so many yll opinyn, and so fewe good in secrete? Naturally they were wont to be shamfast in their visages, temperate in woordes, wise of witte, sobre in goyng, meke in conuersacion, pitifull in correction well regardyng their liuyng, not keepyng companies, stedfast in promesse, and constaunt in loue. Fynally lest not the women that wyll be good, trust in the wisdome of wise menne, nor in the flatterey of light folkes. But let hir vertuously regarde hir renoume, and beware alwaies of any man that maketh hir any promise. For after that the flames of Venus be sette on fyre, and Cupide hath shotte his arrowes, the ryche man offereth all that he hath, the poore manne all that he maie, the wyse man saieth, he wyll be hir great friende, and the symple alway hir seruaunt, the wise man wyll lose his life for hir, and the foole wyll take his death for hir.
The old man wyll say, he wyll be frend to hir friendes: and the yong man wyll say, he wyll be enemy to hir enemies. Some wyll promesse to pase hir deptes,

and

and other to reuinge hyr iniuries. Fy-nally to hide their pouertie, and to shew their beautie, they leaue these fooles to-fyng their persones and good fames. I wyll leaue to speake of good women, for it is not mine intent to lay any thyng to theyr charge: but to aduertise theim well. I demaund of you amorous ladies, yf Platon was there, whan ye made a play of my lyfe, and drew my fygure about in Rome? No surely, in dede by that I see in you, at this tyme, it is suspicious that is saide of other. For there is but a few in Rome, whom Plato and his law doeth excuse. One thyng ye can not deny, if I were the worst of all men, at the laste ye haue founde the ende of my vilanies. And ye can not deny me, but she that is least yll of you, in all my lyfe I coulde not shew the malice of hir lyfe. It is great perill to wise women, to be neighbours to fooles: Great perill it is to theym that be shamefast, to bee with theym that be shameless: great peryll it is to them that be of a meke and styll maner, to be with theim that be bold and rude: great peryll it is for theym that be chast to be with theim that liue in aduoutrie:

great

great peryll it is for the honourable, to be with theim that be disfamed. For the women defamed, thinke that all other be defamed, and desire that they should be defamed, and procure to haue theym defamed, and say they be yll famed.
And to the entent to couer their own infamy, they infame all other that be good. O you ladies in amours, it is longe sith ye knew me and I you: and yf ye speake, I speake, yf ye knowe, I know, if ye be still. I am styll if ye speke openly, I wyl not speke in secrete. Thou knowest well Auilina, that made the iest, how Eumedes solde caluces derer in the bouchery, than thou souldest the innocent virgines in thy house. Thou knowest well Turinga, that one day thou reckenest all thy louers, but thou couldest not recken them on thy fingers, but desyredst to haue a busshell full of peason. And thou Lucia Fuluia knowest well, whan thou were thou wottest where, with Breto, and madest peace with thy housebande, thou tokest him a syde, and saydest, but yf thou mightest ly out of thy house ones a weke, hee shoulde not lye in the house. And thou Retoria knowest well, that in thy yonge
daies

daies, two yeres thou were appoynted on the sea with a pirate, so that he should take no mo to satisfie a. C men of war in the galey. Thou Cygna Corcia knowest well that whan the censore entred to take the, he founde. v. mens gounes, in whiche thou wentest euer by nyght, and thou haddest but one womaunes gowne, that thou warest on by daie. Thou knowest well Pesilane Fabrice, that Elianus Metellus, and thou beyng maried, before the Censore demaunded openly his part, of thet thou gatest in thy house with thy secrete louers. And thou Camill knowest well, not beyng content with thin owne nacion, but by reason of the grette hauntyng that thou hadst with straungers, thou canst speake all maner of languages. I will marke them that haue marked me, and hurte them that haue hurte me, persecute theim that haue persecuted me, and infame theim, that haue infamed me: All other my pen doeth pardon, because thei haue pardoned me in their plaie. And because my letter hath begunne in that ye haue doone to my persone, therefore I will end it in that it felith of your good names. And thus I cõclude, that a

man

man maie scape free fro all domages, with abstenyng fro them: But fro women there is no waie, but to flee fro theim. Thus I ende, and demaunde of the goddis, that I maie see of you as ye desyre to see of me. And sith ye be lourrs, I counsaile you as ye haue sent me your iest for a mocke, in lyhewise for a mocke to receiue the aunswere. ¶ Marke Robian to the amorous ladies of Rome.

¶ A letter sent by Marc the emperour to Boemia, a louer of his that wold haue gone with hym to the warres.

¶ The. xv. letter.

MArke p:etour Romayne sente to the warres of Dacy, sendeth salute to thee his louer Boemia, whiche art in the plesures of Rome. I beyng scaped fro the cruell battel, haue red the few lynes written with thy hande, and haue herde of the a longe infermacion. I saie to the, thou hast put me in a more greatte abasshement, than the feare of myne enemies. In takyng thy letter in-

to

to my hand, forthwith the herbe of malice entred into my hert. Whan I tempre my body with thy delites, I thinke my hert is free fro the venym of thy amours. I of my will, and thou because thou canst doe no more, we haue geuen vs to be free of our pleasures. I thynke as well as to make a deuorse of your enmies. But such as ye be, so ye do, banisshementes of armours, and treasures of passions. The loue of you all ought to be digested with pilles: but the passion of oue of you will not be oppressed with all the Rubarbe in Alexandrie. ye shew your self cruel to pardon an enemy, and euery daie light to change louers. Curiousely I haue kept you all the whyle that delytes ouerpressed my youth: yet I coulde neuer se in any woman no certaintie, nor reason in loue, but hate at the last. Thy present lyghtnes quarelleth with my youth paste: and it is because thou seest not in me the auncient will towarde the, nor the presente seruice. And certainly heryng thyne accusacion, and not my iustificacion, as iustly thou paiest me with death, as I pay the with forgetfulnes. The which forgettyng is as straunge to bee in hym

that serueth, as vngentilnesse in the lady that is serued. Thinkest thou, that I haue forgotten the lawe of Venus, where as it commaundeth, that the curious louers should exercise their strengthes in armes, and occupie their heartes in loue: and also that their apparell be very cleanely, their fete well compassed, their bodies redolent and not wauering, their voyces low and soft, and sadde in countenaunce: their eies open gasping at wyndowes, and their heeres redy to flee in the ayre. Of trouth my loue Bohemia, he is but a grosse louer, that holdeth his will in captiuitee, and his vnderstandyng free. The vnderstandyng ought to bee losse, where as will is in prison. I saie this to the entent that though myne age haue lefte the exercise, yet my spirite hath not forgotten the art. Thou complainest, because I geue my selfe to reste, and that I haue greately forgotten the. I will not deny the trouth: the dait of forgettyng maketh the musser of my thoughtes, and reason which is prouisour declareth, that it is not to my grauitee to permit, that I should loue, nor thy age to suffre to be beloued. As now thou

thou knowest, that diuers thynges, that youth dissimuleth in younge persons, in age meriteth greuous correction. The dedes done in youth procedeth of ignorance: but the villanies done in age procedeth of malice. Whan I kept the Cautons, I ietted in the stretes, I sange balades, I gased to the wyndowes, I plated on instrumentes. I scaled the wals, I wakened lyght persons: thynkest thou that I wist what I did in my youth: and now that I see my selfe promoted fro these pleasures, and decked with so many whyte heares, and apparailed with so many dolours: I thynke now I was not than, or elses I dreame as now, not knowyng the wales that I haue gone, nor seyng the wayes full of stones, I haue fallen et I was ware, I haue fallen in snares: seeyng no guide, I was entred into the whirle poole: and by the grossenes of my boldenesse, I was lost, and therfore I haue deserued pardon, And nowe that I am out of the thornes and bushes, thou woldest haue me further in than euer I was. And now that I can not take the purgacions, thou offerest to me syrops. I haue watched

all nyght, and touched newly the alarme. For thy auncient amitie I pray the, and coniure the in the name of the goddis, sith that my heart is rebell against thy wyll, whiche is right doubtfull: cause me to leaue to desyre the thus without doubt. And to the entent that thou shouldest not thynke any vnkyndnes in my whyte heares, as I may argue thy face of ydelnes, I wyll that we recken whan we haue wonne, or hope to wynne. Shew me what commeth of these pleasures: the tyme yll spent, good name in scatteryng to pardicion, the patrymonie wasted, the credence loste, the goddis annoyed, the vertues sclaundred, the name of brute beastes got, and surnames of shame: suche ye and we and other be. Thou wrytest in thy letter, how thou wyle leaue Rome, and come and see me in the warres of Dacy. Seyng thy foly, I laugh, and knowlegyng thy boldnes, I beleue the. And whan I thinke thus I take thy letter againe out of my bosome, and behold the seale, doubtyng if it be thy letter or not. Thou alterest my pulces and felynges of my herte, and the colour of my face chaungeth, imagenyng, that eyther

shame

shame surmounteth in the, or elles gra-
uitee faileth in me. For suche lyghtnesse
should not be beleued, but of lyke light
persones. Thou knowest well, he that
doeth yll, merreth peyne sooner than he
that doeth infamy. I would wit, whi-
ther thou wylt go? Thou hast ben cut
for perfinace, and now thou wouldst be
solde for wyne. Thou beganst first as
cherries, and thou wylt be last as quin-
ces: we haue eaten the in blossomes, and
thou wilt be lyke the fruicte: the nutte
are very good, but the shales be harde,
with strawe and bonge thou art made
rype, and thou art rotten, and if thou
be rotten, thou art to be lothed. Thou
art not content with fortie yeares, that
thou hast, of the which fiue and twentie
yeres are passed in taste as wine, that is
to be solde, and as strawberies hid vn-
der the leaues that are corrubt and rot-
ten. Art not thou Boemia, that lacketh
two teeth, the eies holowed, with white
heares, and a rivcled face, one hande
lost with the goute, and a tibbe marred
with childe bearyng? whither wilt thou
goe? put thy selfe than in a barell, and
cast the and it into the riuer, and thou
shalt come out all weate. We haue ea-

ten the freshe fishe, and now thou woul-
dest bryng hither the rustie old salt fishe
in steede therof. O Boemia Boemia,
now I know there is no trust in youth,
nor hope in age. Thou Complainest, that
thou hast nothyng. That is an olde
quarell of the amorous ladies of Rome,
whiche tahyng all, say they haue no-
thyng: and that ye lacke of credence,
ye dooe fulfill with money. Therfore
beleue me louyng freende, the foolishe e-
state that proceedeth of vnlawfull win-
nyng, geueth small suertie, and lesse
good name to the person. I can not tell
how thou hast spent so muche. For if I
drew of my tynges with one hand, thou
diddest open my purse with the other
hande. I had greatter warres with my
coniters than, than I haue nowe with
mine ennemies. I could neuer haue
iewell, but thou wouldest demaunde it:
for I did neuer denie thee. Now at this
houre I mercuaile, for in this mine age
I finde great hinderance by my youth.
Thou complainest of fraualie and po-
uertie. I am he that hath great nede of
that medicine for this opilacion, and a
plaister for that soore, and to haue some
colde water for that hotte feuer. Arte
thou

thou not aduised, that I banished my necessitee in the lande of forgetfulnesse, and dyd sette vp thy will for the request of my seruice? In wynter I wente all bare, and in sommer charged with clothes. I wente on foote in the myre, and rode in the faire waie: whan I was heuie, I loughed. and whan I was merie, I wepte. For dreade I drewe forth my strengthes, and oute of my strengthes cowardise. The nyghtes to sigh, and on the daie to waste where thou wenttest by. Whan thou haddest neede of any thyng, I was layne to robbe my father for it. Tell me Boemia, with whom fulfilledst thou thyne open folies, but with the yll orders that I put my selfe to in secrete? Wotte ye what me seemeth by you amorous ladies of Rome? ye are in the court as the litteil mothes eatyng olde cloathes, and a pastyme for lyghte folkes, treasourers of fooles, and Sepulchres of vices. This that seemeth me is, that if in thy youth euery man gaue to thee, because thou shouldest geue to euery manne, nowe thou geuest thy selfe to euery manne, because euery manne should geue hym to thee. Thou tellest me, that thou haste two

sonnes, and lackest helpe for them, yelde graces to the goddis of the pitie that thei haue vsed with thee, thei haue geuen to. xv. children of Fabricio my neibour but one father, and to two of thy children only, thei haue gruen fiftie fathers. Therfore deuide theim among their fathers, and euery man shall not haue one fynger. Lucia thy doughter in deede, and mine by suspecte, remember that I haue doone more in maryng of hir, than thou biddest in hir procreacion. For to the gettyng of hir, thou didst call diuers, and to marie hir I did it alone. I write to thee but litell, to the respecte of that I would write. Butrio Cornelio hath spoken much on thy part, be hym self shall shew the as much of my part. It is long agoe sith I knewe thine impacience. I know well thou wilt sende me an other letter more malicious. I praie thee sith I write to the secretely, defame me not openlie. And whan thou redest this letter, remember what occasion thou geuest me to write. and though that we be no frendes, yet will I not leaue to sende thee siluer, I send the a gowne, and the gods be with thee, and bring me out of this warre

with

with peace. Marke prefour in Dacie to his auncient louer Boemia.

The answere to the Emperours letter, sente by Boemia.

The. xvi. letter.

BOemia thine auncient louer, to the Marc of mount Celio hir mortall enemie. I desire vengeance of thy person, and yll fortune for all thy life. I haue receiued thy letter, and therby perceiue thy damnable intentes and thy cruell malices. Suche yll personnes as thou art haue this priuiledge, that sith one doeth suffre your villanies in secrete, ye will hurte theim openlie, but thou shalt not doe so with me Marke: for though I be not treasoureste of thy treasours, yet at least I am treasoureste of thine finesse: and where as I canne not reuenge me with my personne, I shall labour to doe it with my tongue. And thynke, that though we women be weake, and our bodies soone ouercome, yet wite it for certaine, that our hertes are neuer vanquished. Thou saiest, that scapyng from

Rom b a bat-

a battayle, thou diddest receiue my letter, whereof thou were sore abashed. It is a veraie common thyng to theim that be weake and slacke, to speake of loue, wanton fooles, to treate of bookes, and to cowardes to babble of armes: I saie it, because the answeryng to a letter was not of necessitie to rehearse to a woman as I am, whether it wer before the battaile or after. I know well thou art scaped fro it, for thou were not the first that fought, nor the last that fledde. Whan thou were young, I neuer saw thee goe to the warre, that euer I dred or had suspect of thy life: for knowyng thy cowardise, I neuer tooke care for thine absence, for therin I was moste sure of thy person. Than Marke tell me now, what thou dooest in thine age, I thyncke thou bearest thy speare not for to iuste in the warre, but for to leane on whan the goute greeueth thee. Thy helmet I deeme thou bearest with thee, to drincke with in tauernes, and not to defende thee from the stroakes of swearde: for I neuer sawe thee strike man with thy sweard, but I haue knowen thee slea a thousande women with thy tongue. O malicious and vnhappy

Marke,

Marke, if thou were as valiant as thou art malicious, thou shouldest be as greatly dred of the Barbarike nacions, as thou art hated, as treason is, of the matrons of Rome. Tell me what thou list, at the least thou canst not denie, but as thou hast been a weake and slacke lo-uer, so thou art now a weake and slacke coward knight, an vnknowen freend, a-uaricious, infamed, malicious, cruell, ennemie to euery man, and freend to no bodie. And we that haue knowen thee, yong, strong, and iustie, condemne the for an olde foole. Thou saiest, that ta-kyng my letter into thy hands, thy hert tooke the poyson of malice. I beleue it well without swearyng, for any thyng beyng malicious, foorthwith findeth lodgeyng in thy house. Beastes, that be corrupte, lyghtly take the poyson, that they that been of good complexion caste awaie. Of one thyng I am in certaine, thou shalt not die of poison. For one be-nym oftentimes destroieth an other be-nym. O malicious Marke, if all they in Rome knewe thee, as well as sorow-full Boemia doeth, they should soone see, what difference were betwene the woordes that thou speakest, and the in-

tencion

tencion of thy heart. And if by the wi-
tynges that thou makest, thou meritest
to haue the name of a philosopher, by
the pinche that thou doest inuent, thou
doest merite to haue the name of a ty-
raunt. Thou saiest, thou hast neuer
certitude in the loue of a woma, nor end
of hir hate. I haue greatte glory,
that other ladies beside me haue know-
lage of thy small wisedom. I see Marc,
I wyll not mocke thee, thou arrt suche
one, as neuer desirede, that one should
begyn to loue the, nor leaue to hate the.
Wylt thou haue certitude in loue. And
thou vnfaithfull of thy seruice? Wilte
thou serue with mocheries, and woul-
dest be loued truely? Wilt thou enioy
the person, without spendyng of any
of thy goodes? Wylt thou haue no
complaintes of thee, and thou not ceas-
syng thy malices? Thou saiest, thou
knowest the pinche of women. I wyll
thou knowe, we be not so foolishe, as
thou thinkest, nor thou so wyse, as thou
weenest, to praise thy selfe. Yet hitherto
hath been seen mo men to folow the ap-
petite of women, then there hath ben
women folowyng the wyll of men. In
none of bothe is great trust, and yet

we

we bothe practise, that one man hath his herte so mightie, to be more wyser than three wyse women, and one woman thinketh hir so stronge, to put vnder hir feete, and ouercome. iii. C. such as be light. Thou saiest, thou art abashed of my lyghtnesse, to leaue Rome, and come to the beyng in the warres. Great is the loue of the countrey, syth that many leaue dyuers wealthes that they haue in straunge landes, and lyue straitly, for to lyue in their owne land: but greatter is my loue, sythe that I would leaue Rome with all the pleasures, to goe and serche for the in straunge landes among the cruell batailes. O malicious Marke, O straunge louer, if I leaue Rome, it were to goe and seke my hert beyng in the battailes with the. And certainely diuers tymes whan I dooe thynke on thyne absence, I swoune and sorowe as my herte were not with me, and yet I fynde no perfite remedie. I thynke our loue is not lyke these beastes, that ioy of their pleasures, without eo wyll, and desire theyr willes. I sweare to the, by the goddesse Vesta, and by the mother Berecinthia, that thou owest me more for one daie of loue

that

that I haue had to the, than for the ser-
uices that I haue doone to the in . xxii.
yeres. Beholde vnhappy Marke, how
muche in thy presence I haue alwayes
regarded the, and in thyne absence, I
haue alwaies thought on the, and slee-
pyng I haue alwaies dreamed of the.
I haue wept for thy trauaile, & laughed
at thy pleasure, and finally all my
welth I haue wished the, and all thine
yll I haue wished me. I coniure the
one thyng, that as now I feele not
so muche the persecucion that thou do-
est to me, as I doo the vnknowlage
that thou makest to me. It is a great
sorow for an auaricious man to see his
goodes lose, but without comparison
it is farre greatter for the louer to se his
loue yll bestowed. It is a hurte that is
alway sore, and a paine alway peyn-
full, a sorow alway sorowfull. and it is
a death that neuer endeth. O ye men, yf
ye knew with what loue women loueth
you in perfitnes whan they loue, & with
what hert they hate whan they are set
to hate: I swere to you ye wold neuer cõ
pany with them in loue: or if ye doe loue
theim, ye would neuer leaue theym for
feare of they? hate, and there is neuer

great

greatte hate, but where as muche loue was first. But thou shalt neuer be greatly hated, for thou were neuer truely loued of ladies. The sorowfull Boemia hath loued the.xxii. yere of hir life, and nowe she onely hateth the, till after hir deth. Thou saiest, I maist be eaten for veriuyce, and yet I woulde be solde for wine. I know well I haue erred, as one that hath ben yonge and light, and whā I perceiued that I hadde lost my waye, and that my misaduenture can fynd no way nor remedy: It is the greatest losse of all losses, whan there is no remedy. I haue erred lyke a feble and a weake woman, but thou hast erred as a stronge man: I haue erred by symple ignorance but thou hast erred of a prepensed and wyllfull malice: I haue erred, not knowyng that I should haue erred, but thou knowest what thou dyddest: I haue trusted to thy woordes, as to a faithfull gentill man, and thou haste begyled me with a thousande leasynges as a lyer. Tell me, dyddest thou not seeke occasion to comme in to my mothers house Getulia, to allure me hir doughter Boemia to thy mynde? Dyddest thou not promise my father to

teache

teache me to rede in one yere? and thou taughtest me to rede the booke of Ouidius, of the arte of loue? Diddest thou not sweare to be my husband, and than withdrewest thy hand as a fals aduoutrer? Doest thou not know, that thou neuer foundest villany in my persone, nor I neuer founde trouth in thy mouthe? At least thou canst not deny, but thou hast offendyd the goddis, and art infamed of men, and odious to the Romayns, sclaundred of good folkes, and eraumple to the yll folkes: and finally a traitour to my father and mother, a breaker of thy faith, and to me sorowfull Boemia an vnkynde louer. O malicious Mark, haste thou not cutte me in leaues, offeryng to my father to kepe his vines surely? Ill maie the chickyn trust the kyte, or the lambes the wolues, & worse the to bryng vp the doughters of theim that be good. O cursed Marke, A domageable keper of vines hath the matrones of Rome found the, in kepyng their doughters: I sweare, that there was neither grape nor cluster, but it was eaten or cutte by the. Thou dyddest eate me beyng grene, I promise the it hath set thy teeth on an

yll

yll edge. Thou saiest, I tryed by powder of beate and straw. It displeaseth me not so muche, that thou saiest, as thou geuest me occasion to saie to the. Thy shame is so shamefull and thy malyce so vnshamefast, that I can not answere the to the purpose, without hurtyng or touchyng the quycke. I would wryte of the, whan thou marryedest Faustyne, whether thou foundest hir grene or tryed? Thou knowest well, and likewise so do I, that other beside the, gauged the vessell, and then drankest the lies: other gathered the grapes, and thou gleanedest the vyne: other bydeate the grapes, & thou badst the busdes. O wicked Merke, beholde thyne euils, and how the gods haue geuen the iust chastisement, that thou beyng yong merytedst not to be desyred of thy louers, nor that thy wyues keepe feyth to the in thyne age. For to be auenged of thy person, I nede none other thyng, but to see the maryed to Faustyne. By the mother Berecynthia I promyse the, that if thy small wisedome might attaine to know entierly, what is saied of hir and the in Rome, surely thou woldest wepe nyght and daie for the lyfe of Faustyne, and

not leaue the thoughtfull Boemia. O Marc, lyttell thought is taken for the, and how far is our vnderstandyng vncoupled for thy thoughtes, because that with thy great doctryne by day tyme thy house is made a schoole of philosophers, and the wantonnes of thy wyfe Faustine by nyght, maketh it a bordell of ruffiens. It is a iust iugement of the goddes, that syth thyne onely malyce sufficeth to poyson many that be good, that one alone maie suffise to vnbende and lose thy renoume. One differences there is betweene the and me, and thy wyfe Faustine: for my vices are but in suspect, and yours are openly knowen in dede: myne are secrete, and yours are euident: I haue fombled, but ye haue fallen. Of one thyng alone I haue merited to be chastised, but ye haue deserued no forgyuenes: My dishonour is dead with the faute, and is buried with myne amendemente, but your infamie is born with your desires, & is brought vp with your wylies, and lyueth styll with your wishes: finally therefore your infamie shall neuer dye, for you lyued neuer well. O malicious Marcus with all that thou knowest, wotest thou

not

not, that for losyng of a good name, an yll fame is recouered: and in the ende of a good lyfe, beginneth a good fame? Thou reasest not to say yll onely by suspition, the whiche thy false iugements shewe the: and yet thou wouldest we shoulde not speake that we see with our eies. Of one thyng be thou sure, that neither of the, nor of thy wyfe Faustine there is no false witnesse: for the trouth is so euident, that there needth not to inuent any lies. Thou saist, that it is an olde quarell of amorous ladies of Rome, that in takyng too many we are the poorest of all other: because we faile in credence. we are honoured for syluer. It is of certaintie that we mystrust the holly because of his pricks, the acornes, for his huskes, the roses amonge nettyls, and thy mouth for thy malice. I haue curiously taken hede, that thou neuer saiest well by women, nor I neuer could fynd, that any would the good. What greater correction should I haue of thy wickednes, or more vengeaunce for mine iniuries, but to be certain, that al ỹ louyng ladies of Rome ar sory of thy life, & wold be glad of thy death? The life of ỹ man is wicked, that

many bewarie, and in whose deathes euery body reioyseth. It is the propertie of poore vnkynde persons as thou art, to forget the great goodnesse done to them, and to be sory for the lyttell that they geue: As muche as noble hertes glorify them in geuyng to other, so muche are they ashamed to receiue seruices vntewarded. For in geuyng, they make themselfe lordes, and in receiuyng they are as slaues. I would witte what thou hast geuen me, or what thou hast receiued of me? I haue aduentured my good name, and geuen the possession of my persone: I haue made the lorde and maister of all my goodes: I haue banished my selfe out of my countrey, and put my selfe in peryll onely for thy sake: and in recompence of all this, thou reprochest me nowe of miserie. Thou neuer gauest me any thyng with thy good will, nor I neuer receyued it willyngly, nor it did me neuer profite. All thynges recouer a name, not for the common worke that we see, but for the secrete intencion, with the whiche we worke. And thou vnhappy man dessyrest me, not to enioy my persone, but rather to haue my money. We ought

not

not to call thee a clere louer, but a theef, and a wyly sea rouer. I had a litter tyng of thee, whiche I am determined to cast into the riuer, and the clothyng that I had of the. I haue brent in the fire. And if that my bodie were any thyng amended with the bread that I haue eaten of thine, I would cutte my flesshe, and leat out the blud without any feare. O cursed March, thy darke malice would not suffer thee clerely to vnderstand my letter: for I intended not to aske money, to relieue my pouertie and solitarines, but rehnowlageyng and thinkyng to satisfie my willyng heart. Suche vaine and couetous men as thou art thy selfe, are pleased with gyftes, but the heartes incarnate in loue, are litteli satisfied with syluer. For loue onely is paied with loue againe. The man that loueth not as a man of reason, but as a brute beast, and the woman that loueth not but for the interest of hir personne: suche ought not to bee trusted in their woordes, nor their personnes desired. For the loue of hir endeth, whan the goodes fayle: and the loue of hym, whan hir beautie fayleth. If thy loue proceded onely of the beautie of my face, and my loue onely

for the money of thy purse: it were no right, that we were called wise louers, but rather very nice persons. O wicked Marke, I neuer loued the for thy goodes, though thou louedst me for my beautie: with all my hert I loued thee than, and with all my heart I haie thee nowe. Thou saiest the goddis haue shewed me great pitie, to geue me few children, and to theim many fathers. The greattest blame in women is to bee vnshamefast, and the most villanie in men, is to be yl saiers. Diuers thynges ought to be suffered for the fragilitie of women, whiche are not permitted in the wisedom of men. I say this, because I neuer saw temperance in thee, for to couer thyne owne malices, nor wisedome to excuse the debilities of other. Thou saiest, that my sonnes haue diuers fathers. I sweare vnto thee, that though thou die, the children of Faustine shall not be fatherlesse. And at trouth if the goddis as thou saiest, haue be pitifull to my children, no [illegible] art thou to strãge children. For Faustine hepeth the, but to excuse hir blame and to be tutour of hir children. O cursed Marke, thou maiest well reioice and take no thought, for

thine

thine owne children haue no nede to be maried. For one thyng we are bounde, that is for the example, the whiche thou doest geue of thy pacience: For sith thou sufferest Faustine in so many infamies, it is no great nede that we suffer any secretes in thee. I saie no more at this tyme, makyng an ende of my letter, desiryng the ende of thy person.

¶ A letter sente by Marcus the Empereour to Matrine a young maiden of Rome, of whom he was enamoured, seeyng hir at a wyndowe.

The. xvii. letter.

MArke the Emperour, the very desireus, to the Matrine greatly desired. I wote not if by good aduenture of mine yl aduenture, or by yll aduenture of my good aduenture, I did se the of late at a winnow, wher as thou heldst thine armes as close as mine eien wer spied abrode, that cursed be thei for euer. For in beholding thy face, my hert

foorthwith abode with thee as prisoner. The beginnyng of thy knowlage is the end of my reason, and feelyng of light. Of one trauayle commeth infinite trauailes to men. I sate it for this, if I had not been ydell, I had not gone out of my house, and if I had not gone out of my house, I had not gone out into the streetes, and if I had not passed through the streete, I had not seen thee at thy wyndow, and if I had not seen thee at thy wyndow, I had not desired thy person: and not desiryng thy person, I had not put thy name in so great perill, nor my life in trauaile, nor had geuen none occasion in all Rome to speake of vs. Of a trouth ladie Katrine, in this case I condemne my selfe, sith I would beholde thee. And thou wouldest be salated, sith thou desiredst to be seen. And sith thou wert set as a white marke it was no great meruayle that I shotte with the arowes of mine eies at the buttes of thy beautie, with roullyng eies, with browes bente, well coloured face, incarnate teeth, ruddie lyppes, crispe heares, handes set with rynges, clothed with a thousande maner of clothynges, bearyng purses full of sweete smelles,

and

and bracelets full of knackes, with perles & stones at the eares. Tell me what becõmeth of a woman, with these thinges, that will shewe hir selfe at a wyndow? The most causeis, that I can esteme or thinke therin, that sith you doe shew your bodies aptly to vs at the eie, that your will is, that we should know your desires secretly. And if it be so, as I affirme that it is so, it semeth me madam Matrine, thou shouldest desire him that despiseth thee, to enioyne hym that searcheth thee, to aunswere hym that calleth the, and sele that he seleth, intend to him that intendeth to the: and sith I understand thee, understand me, and understand sith thou dooest not vnderstande. I am aduised, as I wente by the streete Palatia to see theues put to Justice, myne eien sawe thee at a wyndow, on whom depẽdeth all my desires. Thou dooest more Justice to me, than I dooe to the theues: for I beyng at iustice, thou haste iusticed the Justice, and none dare peine thee. The gybet is not so cruell to theim that neuer knewe but yll dooyng, as thou arte to me that neuer thought, but how I might do thee seruice. The theues suffer but one death,

and thou makeſt me ſuffer a thouſande in a daie. In one houre the theues liues are ended, and I dye euery minute: I drawe toward death wrongfullie, and thei ſuffer for their faultes: I ſuffer an innocent, thei openlie, and I in ſecrete. What ſhall I ſaie more to thee? Of trouthe thei wepe watrie droppes with their eies becauſe thei die, and I wepe teares of bloud in my heart, becauſe I liue. This is the difference, their tourmentes ſpreadeth abrode thorough all their bodies, and I keepe mine togither in myne heart. O cruell Matrine, I can not tell what iuſtice it is to put menne to death that ſteale moncie, and ſuffer women to liue that robbe mens hertes: If their eares be cutte of, that picke mennes purſes, why are women than pardoned, that rob mens inward hertes and entrailes? By thy nobleneſſe I praie thee, and by the goddeſſe Venus I coniure thee, either aunſwere to my deſire, or elles reſtore my hert againe, whiche thou haſte robbed from me. I woulde thou kneweſt the clere faith of my hert, rather than this letter writen with my hande. If mine aduenture were ſo good as to ſpeake with thee, and that

thy

thy loue were not ashamed therof, I would hope with the sight and speche to winne that that I am in suspecte to leese by my letter. The reason is, because thou hearest my yll and rude reasons readyng my letter. And if thou sawest me, thou shouldest see the cruel teares that I offer to the by my lyfe. I wold my mouth could puplishe mine enraged cuylles, as my hearte feeleth, than I swere to thee ladie Matrine, that my greuous dolour should awake thy smal thought. And as thy beautie and myne affection haue made me thine own: so the knowlage of my passion shuld make the mine. I desire that thou shouldest regard the beginnyng, and therewith regard the end. Certainly the same day that thou imprisonedst my heart at thy wyndow, in the dungeon of my desires, I had no lesse weakenesse to bee ouercome, than thou haddest force to constrayne me. And more greater is thy power, to put thy selfe from me, than my reason is to put me from thee. I aske no mercie of thee, but that we might declare our willes togither. But in this case, what wilte thou that I shoulde saie, but that thou hast so muche power

ouer

ouer me, and I so littell of my libertie, that wyll I, nill I, my hert can not be but thine: and it beyng thyne thou maiest, and wilt not declare thy selfe to be mine. And sith it may not be, but that my lyfe must be condemned in thy seruice, be thou as sure of my faithe, as I am doubtfull of thy hope: For I shall haue a greatter wealth to be lost for thy sake, than to winne any other thyng. I wyll say no more at this tyme, but that thou accompte my pardicion and death, and drawe the lyfe of my teares into open ioye. And bycause that I holde my faithe in thy faithe, and will neuer dispaire in thy hope, I sende to thee .x. littell rynges of golde, with ten stones of Alexandrie. And I coniure thee by the immortall goddis, that whan thou west put them on thy fingers, thou set me in thine heart and entrailes. Marcus amorous wrote this with his own hand.

¶ An other letter sent by Marke the emperour, to the saide gentill woman Matrine. The. xviii. letter.

MArke habitaunt at Rome, to the Matrine his right swete enemy. I call the swete, for: it is iust that I die for the. And I call the enemy, because thou makest not an ende to slea me. I can not tell wherin it is, but sith the feast of Ianno hitherto, I haue written thre letters to the. And to thanswer of them, I wold that I had sene two letters from the, yf it were thy pleasure. If that I serue the thou wouldest that I should not serue: yf I speake, thou wylte not speake to me: if I loke at the, thou wylt not beholde me: if I call the, thou wylt not answer: if I visite the, thou wilt not see me, yf I write to the, thou wilt geue me none aunswere, and worst of all, if other doe shewe the of my dolours, thou makest but a mocke therof. And if I had as muche knowlage, where to complayne to the, as thou hast power to remedy the plaintife, my wisedome shoulde no lesse be prised amonge wisemen, than thy

thy beauty is among fooles. I pray the hartely regard not the contrarieties of my reasons, but regarde the fayth of my wepynges, the whiche in witnes of my peines I doe geue vnto the. I wot not what good may come to the of my harmes, nor what winnyng of my losse thou shouldest hope to gette: nor what suertie of my peryl thou shouldest attein vnto: nor what pleasure of my displeasure thou maiest haue. I haue had aunswer of my messanger, that without redyng of my letters, thou hast with thy handis toren them al to pieces. It ought to suffise the to thinke, that my persone were hewen in quarters, yet I woulde thou haddest red these small lines lady Matrine, for by them thou shuldest haue sene how my thoughtes were troublid. ye women are so extreme, that for the faute of one man, a woman will cōplain of all other men in generall, so that ye be cruell for one perticular cause. Openly ye pardon all mens lyues, and in secrete ye procure euery mans death. I esteme it nothyng dame Matrine, that thou hast doone: but I lament me of that thou demaundest Valerius thy neyghbour to say to me. One thynge

I wolde thou hadden in memory, and not forgotte, and that is, syth that my libertee is so small, and thy power so great, because I beyng all wholy myne owne, I am tourned to bee thyne, that thou shouldest thynke, that whan thou wouldest iniurie me, thou shouldest doe moste iniurye to thy selfe, syth that by the I dye, as thou by me doest lyue. In this vil purpose persieuere not, for thou doest aduenture the lyfe of vs both. Thou damnest thy condicion, and destroyest my health, and finally thou muste come to the medicine. Forgeue me dame Katrine, yf I saie any malice to the, that is, I knowe that ye women desyre one thyng, and kepe vs in diede, that it shoulde not come by hir thought. Thou were wonte to bee well condicioned, and at leaste though thou doest not put it in vre, yet thou haste the fame thereof, and an auncient fame ought not to be left for a newe vnkyndnesse. Thou knowest well what contrarynes dooeth vngentylnesse to the vertuous in vertuouse bowles, and thou canste not bee called vertuouse, but yf thou bee gentyll and curteyse. There is no greater vnkyndenesse, thanne to loue hir

that

that loueth not me, that I visite the, and thou visitest not me, that I speake to the, and thou speakest not to me, is nothyng, that I knowlege the, and thou wilte not know me is nothyng, though I weepe, and thou laugh is nothyng, though I demande, and thou denyest is nothyng: though thou owe me, and neuer paie, yet it is nothyng, but where as I loue the, and thou not me, is a great thyng. That thyng that can not be dissimuled with the eies, nor the hert suffer, all the vices among mortall creatures, it is reason that thei be forgeuen, because thei are committed by nature, saue only the vnlouyng of women, and the vnkyndnesse of men, whiche are vices committed of malice. And diuers seruices by me doone to the, and muche more that I haue to doe hereafter, thou Matryne maiest all only pay me with one thyng. I praie the refuse not to geue me remedy, sith I haue not offered me in the perill. If thou saie, that Patroclus thy spouse hath the propretie ouer the, yet at least, receyue me to the prote, and I shall pretende possession of the. And in this wise in the vyrginitie to be thyne, shall couer the domage not to bee

myne

myn. Thou makeſt me to meruaile ſore, how for ſo ſmall a mercy and rewarde thou canſte ſuffre ſuche importunitee ſo longe. For certayne many thynges we graunt to an importunate man, the whiche are not graunted to a temperate man. If thou hopeſt to ouercomme me Auſtrine, I holde my ſelfe vanquiſhed: if thou wylte loſe me, I holde me loſte, if thou wilt ſlea me, I yelde my ſelfe as dead. For by the geſture that I make afore thy gate, and the frydes that I make in myne owne houſe are greately myne to reſiſte, and the greuous aſſaute of the, be edifices more to ſummon tea the, than to defende the lyfe. If thou wilte that I ſcape this daungier, denye me not the remedy, becauſe it ſhall bee a greatter vice in the to ſlea me, than villany to geue me remedy. And it were no iuſt thyng for ſo ſmall a price to loſe the faith of ſo great ſeruice. I wot not what to doee, to make the my debtour, and thou to paie me. And yet worſte of all, I wot not what to doe, nor what to thynke, nor to ſaie, nor to whom to determyne me, becauſe I can not aſſure any profit in me, but to be certayne in thy ſeruices. And becauſe thou doeſt truſte

hym that hath beoen this meſſage, by him I doe ſend this open letter, and my ſecrete anſwer, I doe ſend thee a iewell of perles, and a beſand of golde. To the goddis I doe commend thee. And I require thee for to receiue it with as good a will as I dooe preſente it vnto thee. Marc oratour to thee right honourable Matrine.

¶ A letter ſente by Marc the Emperour to Lybia a faire ladie Romain.

¶ The. xii. letter.

MArc full of ſorow and penſifnelle, to the Lybia taking but litteli thought or care: if thy ſmalle thoughte paſſed any thing on me, & alſo if my troubles & dolours were lodged & dyd reſte in thee, than thou ſhouldeſt perceiue and ſee how ſmall the quarell wer, the whiche I make to thee, in reſpect of the turment that I do ſuffer, if the blaſyng flames iſſued out, as the fyred brondes doe brenne me within, the ſmoke wouldе reach to the heaueus, and make imbres of the earth: if thou doeſt well remebre the firſt time that I ſaw thee in the temple

ple of the virgins Vestales, thou beyng there, praiedst the goddis for thy selfe, and I on my knees prayed thee for my selfe. I know well thou offeredst honie and opie to the goddis, and I offered to thee sore wepinges and sighes. It is a iust thyng to geue more to hym that offereth his inwarde entrayles, than to hym that draweth money out of his purse to offer. I haue determined and dispoled me, to write to thee this letter, that thou shouldest see how thou art slayne with the arrowes of myne eies, that were shotte at the white of thy seruices. Alas how sorowfull am I to thinke least the calme tyme now, doeth threten me with the tempest to come. I will say that disloue in the, causeth the hope doubtfull in me. Beholde what misaduenture, I had lost a letter, and as I retourned to the temple to seke for it, I had nere lost my selfe, in goyng thyther so often, considerying my small merite. I see well, that myne eyes, the ladders of my hope, are set on so hie a wall, that no lesse is the doubte of my fall, than the daunger of the climmyng vp. Thou bowyng doutwne the leaues of thy high merites, hast brought me to the poincte

of continuall seruice. Let me haue the fruite, and geue the leues to whom thou wylt. By the immortall goddis, I haue great meruail, for surely I thought that in the temple of the virgins Vestals, no man shoulde haue had temtacions. But as now I doe fynde by experience, that that woman is more liberall, and sonest ouercome, that is fast and straitly kepte and watched, than other. All the corporall domages are firste herde of, er they be knowen, and knowen er they be sene, and seen er they be felt, and felt, er they be tasted, yet it is not so in loue. For fyrst they feele the stroke therof, er they se the way how it cometh. The lightnyng is not so sodeine, but it is sene afore the thunder clappe, nor the wall falleth not so sodeinly, but firste some stones breake a sunder, nor the cold cometh not so fast on, but some small shuttynges cometh before: but alonly loue is not felt tyl it be settled in the entraules. Let euery man know it that know it not, and thou lady Libie, if thou wylt, know: Loue sleepeth whan we wake, and waketh whan we slepe, and laugheth whan we wepe, and weepeth whan we laugh: it assureth in tarying, and taketh in assuryng:

And

And speaketh whan we be styll, and is still whan we speake: And finally it is of that condicion, that for to geue vs that we desyre, it causeth vs to syue in peyne. I sweare to thee, whan my wyll became thy seruaunt, and thy beautie caused, that thou were my ladie, whan I was in the temple, and returned againe thither, not desyryng thee, thou beholdest me, and I as vnhappie looked on thee. But O what a thought came to me, that my hert beyng whole, thou hast deuided, beyng in healthe, thou hast hurte, beyng alyue thou hast slayne, beeyng mine, thou hast stolen it, and that woorste of all is, not healpyng to my lyfe, thou consentest that loue assayle me to the death. Was my tymes ladie Libia, considerynge that al my thoughtes been high, and my fortune lowe, I would haue separate my selfe fro the. But considerynge that my trauailes are well applied in thy seruices. I say though I might, I wyll not be separate fro thee. I wyll not deny one thyng, and that is, that cursed loue taketh away the taste of all thynges, and yet therby alonely it geueth vs appetite, the whiche geueth vs muche yll profite.

This is the proffe of him that loueth hertily. For one disfauour of him that is beloued, is more than all the fauour of this lyfe. I thynke lady Libia, thou art greatly abasshed to see me outwarde as a philosopher, and to knowe me inwarde a secrete louer. I pray the Libia discouer me not: For if that the goddis geue me longe lyfe, I am mynded for to amende. And though I be at this houre but a yong foole in the art of loue, whan I am olde, I shall bee wise: the goddis knowe what I desyre, and the force that I dooe enforce me to: but as the flesshe is weake, and the hert tender, and hath many occasions and fewe defences, and the worlde subtyll, and the people malicious, I passe this begynnyng and spryng of flowers, with hope that in harueste I shall haue some fruite. Dame Libia, doest thou thynke, that philosophiers, though they were neuer so sage, be not striken with the crueltees of loue? and that vnder theyr course clothes, theyr flesshe is not smoth? Certeinly among the harde bones soft flesshe is bredde, vnder the sharpe bushes the chestnutte is nourisshed. I say, that vnder course apparayle is trew and

perfit

perfite loue. I deny not, but that our flacke nature reſiſteth not with vertues: nor I deny not, but there be yonge wanton deſyres not repreſſed with vertuous purpoſes: I denye not, but that the byrde of youthe is not reſtrayned with the bridell of reaſon, I deny not, but that that the fleſhe procureth, is diuers tymes withſtande by wyſedome. And alſo I knowledge well, that he that is not amorous, is a foole. And thou knoweſt, that though we bee wiſe, we leaue not therefore to bee men. All that euer we learne in all our lyues ſuffiſeth not to knowe howe to rule the fleſhe one houre. To wiſe men in this caſe hath fallen many errours: there bee many maiſters in vertues, and many mo hath been, and yet thei haue been ouercome with vices: wherefore than dooeſt thou meruayle of me alone? I confeſſe of trouth, that I hadde neuer myne vnderſtandyng ſo cleere, as whan Cupide fanned wynde on me with his wynges. There was neuer none vnto my tyme, that euer was noted wiſe, but firſt he was a priſoner, & bound with the loue of Cupide. Gracian was amorous on Tamyr: Solon Salamin⁹ giuer

of the lawes, was amorouse of Grecia ene. Pitacus Mitelenus left his owne wyfe, and was enamoured of a bonde woman, that he brought from the warres. Cleobulus of Caria whan he was full threscore and ten yere olde, and had redde Philosophie fiue and fortie yere, scalyng the house of his neighbour, fell of the ladder and died Periander prince of Acaye, and a great Philosopher of Grece, at the praier of one of his louers slewe his wife. Anacharsis a Philosopher, a Scithian of his fathers side and a Greke of his mothers side, was so enamoured of a woman of Thebes, that he taught hir all his cunnyng: and whi he was sicke in his bedde, she red in the schoole for hym. Epimenides of Crete, that slept. xv. yeres without wakyng. and though he was tenne yeare a great worshipper of the goddis, yet he was banyshed from Athenes for the loue of women. Archita Tarentine, maister of Plato, and disciple of Pythagoras, occupied his myude more to inuent the kyndes of loue, than his forces in doctrines of vertues. Gorgio Cicontino, borne in Sicile, kepte rather concubines in his chamber, than bookes in the

schooles

schooles. All these were wise men, and yet we maie see, howe at the laste they were ouercome with the flesshe.

¶ Than blame not me alone: for as I haue tolde of so fewe in noumbre, so I could recite of other a holle arme. Of trouth he ought to haue many thynges, that will bee taken as curious in loue. He must haue his eyen displayed on hir that he loueth, his vnderstandyng for altered in that he thincketh, his tongue troubled in that he should saie: so that in seeing he be blind, in thoughtes wandrynge, and in speakyng troubled. O ladie Libia, the louyng in mockerie passeth by mockerie: but where as the true heart is, there is the greefe and no mockerie. Loue sheadeth hir poyson, and cruell Cupido fireth his arrowes vp to the feathers. Than the eien weepe, the heart sigheth, the flesshe trembleth, the synewes shrinke, the vnderstandyng wareth groce, reason fayleth, and so all falleth to the earth, so that finallie the beautie louer abidyng in hym selfe, holdeth litteli or nothyng of hym selfe. All this I saie, because that knowlage to loue fayleth in me: yet be ye sure that the woorkes fayle me not to woorke in

thy seruyce. And syth it was myne aduenture to see the, nowe it is my chaunce to knowe the. I demaunde nothyng elles of the, but that thou wilt loue me truely, syth I loue the without fayntyng. And if thou haste harde that I am sycke at my herte, I desyre the to doo me some good: for sythe it is al only to the, it is reason, that thou all only seke for remedy. I was greatly comforted, whan Fabius Carlynus desyred me in thy behalfe to be a pursouer, and I dyd incontinente all that thou dyddest desyre, to the entent that thou on some daie shouldest doo that I desyre. And beholde lady Lydya, the woman that is serued with seruices, it is reason that she receiue some prayers. And thoughe my strengthes haue no power to open the gates of thy purpose, as not to agree to thy demaunde, yet all my labours bee because of thy renowme. I praie the discouer not the one, nor beguyle me not with the other. For nowe thou seest, that in grauntyng is remedye, and in truste is comforte, but promisse is deceyuable, and delaiyng is perillous, and the intreatyng byndeth. I see veray well, that the

hasty

hasty demaunde, deserueth a longe aun-
swere but I wold not that thou shuldest
doe so: but as I desyre the, so desyre
me. I say agayne, I am all thyne,
and not myne owne. And as for my
selfe in all thynges I will serue the.
And lady Lydia, regarde that it were
as muche honour for the, as profytable
for me, to tourne thy disordinate desy-
res and purpose. For thou seest well it
is muche better to heale shortely than
to late with tarying of thy purpose.
All women kepe one daungerous opi-
nion, that is, they wyll neuer receiue
counsell that is gyuen theym in a great
cause: and if it be so, as I thynke, syth
thou art praised and esteemed of great
beautie, than be esteemed to receiue
good counsell. And in this maner in
case that my domage be veray great,
and thy patience veray littell, I shall
be called wyse to geue the such counsell,
and thou right gracious to folowe it.
One thyng I say, and pardone me,
though I shewe it to the, how that wo-
men be greatly infamed, that wyll
take no counsell, and such as wyll as-
sure theyr renowme by the opinion of
other, as muche as though they were

determy-

determined so to dee they: selfe. Wher: fo:e I would ye should do one thyng for an other, as I counsaile you. And if thou findest any yll thereby, withdrawe thy hande. I will say no mo:e to thee, but that I doe p:esent to thee all my vnhappie troubles, my desperate sighes, and my seruices as thy seruaunt: thy troubled dolours, my woo:des of philoso: phie, and my amo:ous teares. Also I send the a gy:dell of golde, and I geue it thee on the condicion, that thou sette thine eies theron, and applie thy heart to me. I pray the goddis to geue me to thee, and thee to me. Marcus Aurelius the Philosopher, writeth this in veray great secrete.

¶ Thus endeth the Golden booke of the eloquent Marke Aurelie emperour: who so euer be reader therof may take it by reason, for a riche and a newe la: bour, and specially p:incis and gouer: nours of the common wealth, and my: nisters of Iustice, with other. Also the common people eche of them may finde the labour conuenient to they: estate. And therin is conteigned certayne right highe and p:olounde sentences, and holsome counsailes, and metuailous

deuis

deuices agaynst the encumbraunce of fortune: and right sweete consolacions for theim that are ouerthrowen by fortune. Finally it is good to them that digeste it, and thanke god that hath geuen suche grace to a paynym in geuyng vs exaumple of vertuous liuyng, with hye and salutary doctrines, and maruailous instructions of perfectenes. Certaynly as great preyse as ought to be geuen to the auctour, is to be geuen to the translatours, that haue laboriously reduced this treatise out of Greeke into Latin, and out of Latine into Castilian, and out of Castilian into Frenche, and out of Frenche into English, written in high and swete styles. O ryght happy trauayle, syth that suche fruite is yssued therof. And also blessyd bee the handes that haue written it. A ryght precious meate is the sentences of this booke: But finally the sauce of the saied swete style moueth the appetite. Many bookes there be of substanciall meates, but they bee so rude and so vnsauery, and the style of so small grace, that the fyrste morcell is lothsome and noyfull: And of suche bookes foloweth to lye hole and sounde in Lybraries, but

I trust

I truste this will not. Of trouth great praise is due to the auctour of his trauayle. And sith there can be no grace equipolent in earthe, let vs pray to god to geue hym grace and rewarde in heauen. Amen. Graces to God.

FINIS.

¶ Thus endeth the volume of Marke Aurelie, Emperour, otherwise called the golden booke, translated out of Frenche into Englishe by Johñ Bourchier knight lorde Barners, deputie generall of the kynges town of Caleis and marches of the same, at the instaunt desire of his neuewe sir Fraunceis Bryan knighte, ended at Caleis the tenth daie of Marche, in the yere of the reigne of our souerayne lorde Kyng Henry the eyghte the fowre and twentie.

IMPRINTED AT
London in Fletestreete, in the
house of Thomas
Berthelet.

Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum solum.